

THE
CHRISTIAN REMEMBRANCER.

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- ART. I.—1. *History of the War in the Peninsula, &c.* By W. F. P. NAPIER, C.B. 1831.
2. *Singleness of Purpose the secret of Success.* A Sermon. By the Rev. C. MARRIOTT, B.D. Oxford: Parker. 1852.
3. *The Servant of Christ.* A Sermon. By the Rev. WILLIAM SEWELL, B.D., Sub-rector of Exeter College. Oxford: Parker. 1852.
4. *A Sermon in Memory of the late Duke of Wellington.* By the Rev. J. J. BLUNT, B.D., Margaret Professor of Divinity. Cambridge: Deighton. 1852.

It would be unnatural even here to pass unnoticed so great an event as the Duke of Wellington's departure from this mortal scene, with all the circumstances which a public funeral has called forth in connexion with it. Yet all that can be said has been said. Panegyric has over and over again been declared exhausted, even by those who were in the act of pouring forth their share of praise. The Duke has been viewed in every aspect, in every character, and every official station. The details of his ancestry have been closely examined, the records of his birth and baptism have been ransacked, and the providers of public information, making these early points of history their starting point, have become more and more explicit, more and more industrious and voluminous in their researches, as each period of advancing or declining life fulfilled its course, till death itself having done its work, the climax of interest was at length attained in the solemn act of lowering his ashes to their last home under the dome of St. Paul's, to the sound of the Dead March, in the venerating gaze of twenty thousand people. Pictorial and editorial art have alike illustrated each scene in life and death, and given to every man, woman, and child some token by which to remember the great hero of modern times. Oratory, in every scene of its action, has adorned his

memory, and the humble but abiding rhetoric of the home circle has impressed many a lofty aspiring thought of greatness in the mind of infancy.

No human topic can, for more than a very short period, sustain the undivided attention which this has claimed in the passing order of events. The mind relaxes, and the emergencies of life revive their pressing interests. After the pageantry of the funeral was over, the idea at length possessed us that we had done a national work, great and deserved indeed, but so ample, that its completeness became its chief characteristic, with the important corollary, that nothing else need be done. To prolong a subject beyond this assigned limit is tedious to nature, and after such violent tension of the mind in one direction, a season of repose is necessary, before the next stage in its history, that of calm retrospective interest, can fairly take its place. We are not unmindful of all these objecting antecedents to any attention which we may hope to claim of our readers to the subject we have undertaken. It is, moreover, only in a *general* sense that the subject affects us, for the public history of the Duke does not come within any *particular* province which may attach to this review. Yet, in spite of all this, by a diligent adherence to what we esteem our legitimate work, we propose to retain the name of Wellington on the pages of periodical literature even at this distance of time.

We shall not, however, be comprehensive in our review of history, and shall not force plain facts beyond their obvious meaning, to suit any object of our own; but taking one year from so many during which the Duke was among us, we shall strive to point out by the events of that period, what were those powers of mind, and efforts of moral strength, which so distinguished him as to produce the great reputation we have all witnessed.

The year we would select as most exalting to the character of the Duke and most illustrative of himself, is that of 1810. The whole Peninsular war was the work of his life's choicest powers. At an age when every faculty was at its prime, in a situation where every available talent, both physical and mental, was called into action, we would from all considerations look to this series of achievements as the foundation of his fame. When, however, among his honours and titles, pronounced by Garter King-at-Arms over the grave, we heard, that besides being Duke of Wellington, he was Viscount Wellington of Talavera, Baron Douro, Duke of Ciudad Rodrigo, in Spain, Duke of Vittoria, Marquis of Torres Vedras, Count of Vimiera in Portugal, we knew for certain that such laurels were like the index of a book, pointing to definite times and places, in the records of

which an inquirer might find the solid claims on which these honours rested. But if we examine the Peninsular war as a whole, and endeavour to arrive at the master mind of its success, —if we strive for one idea that may be the key to its unparalleled glory, we shall find our mature admiration chiefly fixed on the year 1810. This year was not celebrated by any of the more distinguished victories; it is somewhat barren of brilliant achievements, such as figure in the imagination of youthful warriors; we are not kept alive by any large proportion of impetuous cavalry charges, by the thunderings of artillery, or oceans of blood and spoil. Wellington does not figure therein as wildly exciting his troops to finish all by one bold stroke of physical courage; but we see him marking out the design of a war with artistic skill; we see the real mental labour which converts a great general, from the Homeric type of a mere animal fighter, into the student, into the hard-working moral philosopher, the acute politician, the severe economist, the practical man of science. The common idea of success in war is associated with its great and stimulating conclusions, rather than with those days and nights of toil, anxiety, and mental trial, which in military, as well as in civil and political honours, must precede the glorious result.

Few mere literary men, with no other occupation but that of writing, with the quietness of a study at their command, with every appliance to facilitate their labours, have yet actually written so much within the time as Wellington wrote during the Peninsular war. His Despatches place him in the first ranks of literature, and the Chancellorship of Oxford was not unworthily held, even on this ground, without any immediate reference to the practical use of musket and bayonet. Besides, however, this great literary application, which thus made pen and ink the means of expression for his genius, we also notice in him a peculiar tendency to form his military operations by an elaborate intellectual process, rather than by a certain brute instinct, which is sometimes attributed to men like Napoleon.

The Duke was generally seen with a map; his greatest designs were the result of studying maps, for which sources of information he acquired an irresistible craving. This marks his engineering talent, as his despatches mark his literary. Again, his management of the allied forces, and of the political authorities of Spain and Portugal, point to his genius in diplomacy as being no unimportant element of success, while his continued practical estimation of the moral qualities and physical necessities of all, with whom he had to do, place him before us as most distinguished for that kind of moral philosophy which is the basis of common sense. All these qualities are, however, the com-

ponent parts of that genius for military affairs, in their extended application, which it is obvious he possessed. But if we were asked for the Duke's *idiosyncrasy*, that peculiarity of disposition which gave shape and point to his genius, which created his individual self such as our inward consciousness feels him to have been, though we may never have the ability to express in words the sympathetic impression which one soul inwardly makes on another, we should say, that he was pre-eminently crafty, watchful, and patient. We are not afraid of the first word being taken as if intended to be derogatory, because we feel its truth and appropriateness so strongly, that, as the Duke was a great man, so must the word crafty, even if only to suit him, be used in a dignified sense, not inconsistent with its old and true meaning. He was watchful also, with a peculiar stretch of that idea. He reminds one of the mechanical watchfulness of a metal spring, which in its very nature maintains an unceasing pressure, and cannot possibly fail to close in with, and overbear the resisting weight, on the first symptom of weakness. As long as that power of resistance is of a certain strength, the steel is content to remain without any demonstration of its force, but once let it give way, and an advance is gained which will require tenfold energies to push back. He was also patient, not only as a necessary element of his crafty and watchful character, but as possessing a wonderful ability to resist for any length of time the moral pressure of everybody else in the world, and of every *thing* that was external to his own self-confidence and self-reliance.

The retreat to Torres Vedras illustrates these qualities in so remarkable a manner, that, as that design was undoubtedly the key of his own success in the Peninsula, so would we claim its great features as peculiarly characteristic of the Duke's whole genius. But who that has watched the Duke's face and manner, even as they have been subjects of daily observation within our own immediate recollection, can fail to associate with him the idea of a certain amusing craftiness? Again, it was part of his very existence in the public mind, to imagine him always watchful, and ready to act with immediate promptness in any emergency that might bring him forth; while his moral patience and power of resisting mere external pressure, such as public opinion, was proverbial. The greatest proof of this may be seen in his constant readiness to concede what was really due to such pressure, in any political crisis. If he had felt conscious that he was driven, he would never have yielded his early prejudices in the way he did on several occasions of his political career. The different parties and feelings which he had to manage, were all external in his own mind to any idea of com-

pulsion, as applied to himself, and were simply to be disposed of and taken into consideration, like the parts of an army, with reference to the general object in view. He had a wonderful power of testing the real value of any clamour that was about him. When he saw substance and reality in it, he took it into consideration, but if not, his contempt for it was very near the point of junction between the sublime and the ridiculous.

But let us now illustrate the Duke's character by the selected period of the retreat to Torres Vedras. History, we think, can produce no equal to the moral strength and lofty self-reliance manifested in that campaign; we can imagine no more triumphant success of long-conceived strategy, or a greater power of abiding one's time, and waiting the opportunity, than are here brought to light.

Taking this one year, let us see what his position was at its commencement. In 1809 he had landed on the crags of Portugal with an army of about 30,000 men. The English army enjoyed then no prestige of success as opposed to European forces, for our strength was thought to be concentrated in the navy. Sir Arthur Wellesley was ridiculed by Napoleon as a Sepoy general, and against this taunt he had but little to oppose. He had been to the Netherlands, but it was only to share in the annoyance of an already retreating expedition. In 1808 he had also visited the same coasts on which he now stood, but he had gone home again in disgust at the imbecility and arrogance of those superior to him in command. Meanwhile the calamity of Sir John Moore had thrown a shade on our military prospects, and had naturally left the impression that the French legions were more than a match for us. Indeed, it is not sufficiently known how entirely the whole subsequent character of the English army was established in and by the Peninsular war. There was no confidence in it at home, before that time, and there was no terror inspired by its name when in action abroad. Sir Arthur Wellesley no doubt felt from his experience in India that he had it in him to face an European army, as well as an Asiatic, but he could not impress the world with this conviction, before he had thoroughly proved it. Even victories that now figure on regimental emblazonments were at the time made the instruments of his annoyance. Vimiera was the scene of his gallantry during his first Portuguese expedition, but his disgust at the circumstances connected with it was the immediate cause of his return home.

In 1809, however, he landed with the entire command over himself and his army. He marched against his foe, as if bent on mischief; and at Douro and Talavera he obtained immortal victories. But after thus showing himself, and letting the enemy taste of what the English 'leopards' were made, he

would seem to have felt an overpowering conviction, that, for the present, he could advance no further. Those victories, therefore, were not followed up by the usual accessories of conquest, but rather, to casual observers, by the consequences of defeat. Into the merits of this campaign we do not however enter, but have only alluded to its history in order to understand the state of the case at the commencement of 1810.

Wellesley was at this time, therefore, retrograding rather than advancing. After the first burst of his success, the many difficulties of his position crowded round him. His long sight and diligent forethought had convinced him that his dangers were too imminent to allow of any hasty measures. Yet, conceive the advantage which this apparent hesitation gave to his calumniators at home, his disaffected allies on the continent, and his enemies at the scene of war. A man of power and courage can, however, do much when he feels that his employers, who have the final control over his actions, are really trusting him and cordially supporting him. But this was not the case in Wellesley's position toward the parliament of England. Lord Liverpool wished and treated him well, but the Opposition was so venomous and powerful, that, venting as they did all their spleen against the conduct of the war, it was uncertain how long the Government would be able to bear up against any apparent want of success. When the want of activity was thus likely to be the precursor of a sudden recal, what temptation was there to risk something, even against the warnings of mature judgment? Sir Arthur, however, had this honour, that as long as he was in command he sincerely did his best, trusting to Providence for his continuance in it. He would not be hurried, even by that universal spur to activity, the danger of personal sacrifice. Most wantonly was he taunted in the English parliament with the uselessness of his proceedings, and though honours were conferred on him by the Crown and a majority of the House, yet still these sweets were mingled with much bitterness from the insults of the Opposition. Douro and Talavera sound to us as but the emblems of military success, but we have referred to the debates of the time, as reported in the newspapers, and think it cannot but interest our readers to know how such victories were actually spoken of by some statesmen at home. From the *Times* newspaper of January 24th, 1810, we copy the following extracts. Seeing, however, the very paper itself, its small size, and worn appearance, gives a more vivid impression of its being cotemporaneous with the events themselves, than we can convey on new pages to our readers; but nevertheless they are the veritable words used on the 23d of January, 1810.

The royal speech had complimented the victor of Talavera, to which an amendment was proposed.

'*House of Lords.*—Earl Grey said, when he came down to the house on that day of their humiliation and disgrace, he never was so surprised as at the tone of the speech he had heard. To call for unbounded approbation where the most unqualified censure was due, bespoke a degree of confidence which he could hardly have expected, even from the present ministers. To hear panegyrics on the battle of Talavera, and compliments to Lord Wellington, after the disasters and disgrace that our armies experienced in Spain, was what he never could have conceived. He gave ministers some credit, however, for the chastised and humble tone in which they spoke, contrasted with the lofty language of the speech. It showed they had some compunction for the injuries and disgrace they had brought upon the country. With respect to the campaign in Spain, it was impossible not to speak of it but in terms of condemnation.'

'*House of Commons.*—Lord Gower: The failure of the campaign in 1808 in Spain, seemed to have no other consequence than to induce ministers to risk its repetition. What was the result of this experience (Sir John Moore's)? only to confirm our ministers in their infatuation (hear)! only to induce them to send fresh forces to a country where we had failed before, and to a government with which no previous arrangement had been made. Even the pompous embassy of Lord Wellesley proved abortive,—that embassy which promised so much and performed so little (hear, hear)—returned, after a battle which was followed by a retreat, a victory which was followed by all the calamitous consequences of a defeat.'

The amendment proposed was this:

'The House sees, with sorrow and indignation, expeditions undertaken in which our resources were lost, and our troops sacrificed in enterprises the consequences of which were most injurious, producing no other effect than the exposure of our councils to the derision of our enemies: That now the House demands, as the only atonement to an injured and insulted people, that the most rigorous inquiry into such disgraceful expeditions should be instituted.'

The Hon. Mr. Ward, in a strong condemnation of ministers for the Spanish expeditions, used the following words:—

'If the generals of former times, the Cadogans, Athlones, and Marlboroughs, had acted upon the same principle as Lord Wellington, France would long since have been mistress of the world, and England must have sunk under the weight of her victories. But they had acted upon far other principles, and the consequence of their victories led to far different results. It was a well-known observation of an historian respecting King William, that though he might suffer a defeat, he always took care that it could not lead to any ruinous consequence. The plan of our modern generals was far different; for though a defeat at Talavera would have been utter destruction, the victory did not advance our object one step further. He was ready to ascribe every credit to the individual valour of the British troops, but he must lament the absence of the art of that great man, who could prevent a retreat from being ruinous, and rendered even victories unavailing. He could not account for the conduct of the government in sending the expedition to Spain, unless upon that mischievous principle of keeping the disposable force of the country in action,—upon the folly, infatuation, and madness of being stirring, and doing something; a conduct which resembled the desperate phrenzy of a losing gamester, rather than the deliberate determination of reason,—the *monstrum nullâ virtute redemptum*."

'Mr. Whitbread.—Our victories, indeed, were this night the particular theme of congratulations; and Maida, Corunna, Vimiera, and Talavera, were held up as monuments of our eternal glory; he beheld them only as so many gladiatorial exhibitions. None of them were happy in their consequences. . . . Talavera was at best but an exhibition of victorious rashness.

'The right honourable gentleman last session said that a battle ought never to be risked in Spain, until there was an efficient government in that country; yet now he recanted the principle by conferring honours upon Sir Arthur Wellesley, for whom, and for the country, it would have been much more honourable had he never changed his name. His conduct in Spain seemed the result of infatuation.

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Even Lord Wellington's despatches were violently attacked. On a motion of thanks, we find in the same newspaper of Feb. 1, an oration by General Tarleton:—

'Feb. 1.—*Thanks to Wellington.*—General Tarleton:—He next came to the accounts of the action contained in the despatches of Lord Wellington, which were vainglorious, partial, and incorrect. Vainglorious, as every man who read them would perceive; partial because, though they contained some praises of the Spaniards, that praise was not adequate to their services; and incorrect, because almost every line contained a statement which the circumstances of the case did not bear out.'

It was even proposed that, while the army received a vote of thanks, Wellington should be specially excepted.

Yet in spite of all such aspersions upon his command; and in spite of such anxiety on the part of his friends for the appearance of activity, that he was on one occasion urged to let blood be shed at any risk, if only for the sake of something being done; he had the moral courage, in obedience to a profound conviction of his own mind, to continue on a line of retreat for the whole summer, the only engagements being exactly of the description so ridiculed by the Opposition, as being followed, though successful, by a further retreat.

The immense difficulties of the Peninsular war in general must also be remembered. Napier describes these incidentally with reference to many subjects. With regard to the home Government, we have the following severe comments:—

'Notwithstanding the many years of hostility with France, the English ministers were still ignorant of every military principal, and yet too arrogant to ask advice of professional men; for it was not until after the death of Mr. Perceval, and when the decisive victory of Salamanca showed the giant in his full proportions, that even Wellington himself was permitted the free exercise of his judgment, although he was more than once reminded by Mr. Perceval, whose narrow views continually clogged the operations, that the whole responsibility of failure would rest on his head.'

—Book x. chap. iv.

Again, in all concerns with the local authorities, there was a

depth of hindrance which might well test the patience of any but one, who, with consummate wisdom, knew how to be content with laying all these things to the account of the general difficulties which it was his position to surmount. Napier thus instances a difficulty of this kind, not in connexion with our present scene of warfare, but happening about the same time:—

‘The ships recovered from Ferrol had been transferred to Cadiz, so there were in the bay twenty-three men-of-war, of which four of the line and three frigates were British; and thus, money, troops, and a fleet, in fine, all things necessary to render Cadiz formidable, were collected, yet to little purpose, because procrastination, jealousy, ostention, and a thousand absurdities, were the invariable attendants of Spanish armies and governments.

‘It was in vain that the English engineers presented plans, and offered to construct the works; the Spaniards would never consent to pull down a house, or destroy a garden; their procrastination paralyzed their allies, and would have lost the place, had the enemy been prepared to press it vigorously. Nor were the English works (where the Spaniards would permit any be constructed) well and rapidly completed, for the Junta furnished bad materials. There was a paucity of engineer-officers, and, from the habitual negligence of the ministerial departments at home, neither the proper stores nor implements had been sent out. Indeed, an exact history, drawn from the private journals of commanders of British expeditions, during the war with France, would show an incredible carelessness of preparation on the part of the different cabinets. The generals were always expected to “make bricks without straw,” and thus the laurels of the British army were for many years blighted.’—Book x. chap. v. p. 179.

Lord Wellington having formed his own judgment as to the nature of the campaign now before him, commenced such arrangements as would be necessary to carry it out with success. In spite of all reproaches, and many peculiar difficulties belonging to such a policy, he determined on a retreat towards the sea, in case the enemy should gain admission into Portugal. He required from the Portuguese authorities, that as the army retreated, the country should be laid waste, and mills destroyed, in order that a French army might derive no means of support in their advance. It was no easy task to obtain the desired object.

‘He was a foreigner, ill-supported by his own government, and holding power under that of Portugal by a precarious tenure; he was vehemently opposed by the local authorities, the ministers, and by the nobility of that country; and yet, in this apparently weak position, he undertook at one and the same time, to overcome the abuses engendered by centuries of misgovernment, and to oblige a whole people, sunk in sloth, to arise in arms, to devastate their own lands, and to follow him to battle against the most formidable power of modern times.’—*Napier*, vol. iii. p. 256.

But a retreat towards the sea, across so narrow a country as Portugal, must soon end either in the entire desertion of the country by the embarkation of the whole retreating army,—for means of transport, of course, were always on the coast,—or it must have the final resource of some great fortress wherein to

make a last resistance. That the former alternative was always open to the English army, is, we think, most creditable to the humanity of our general. If the worst should have happened, Lord Wellington could have left Portugal without any risk of those fearful destructions of life which Napoleon recklessly encountered with the legions of France. The war in Portugal was not a desperate hazard; and, under the circumstances of that war, it was no doubt an important duty of its commander to take care that no greater risk was encountered than its original object would warrant. An army defending its own country may be compelled to encounter any risks, but when the immediate object was only to protect our allies, it is obvious that the forces of England ought never to lose sight of the means of retreat; for their own safety was, after all, of more importance than that of the Portuguese. With the satisfaction, however, of feeling that he could at any time quietly ship off his army; and thus being eased of those qualms of conscience which must ever hang over a right-minded man, if he is encountering for others too hazardous an undertaking; Wellington, nevertheless, had no intention of thus quickly giving up the work which he had commenced. With the assistance of certain accurate plans, made in 1799, of that tongue of land between the Tagus and the Atlantic on the point of which is Lisbon, he devised, with consummate craft, the lines of Torres Vedras. Three monstrous barriers were erected, from the river to the ocean; the outer one being twenty-nine miles long, and about the same distance from Lisbon; and the next, intended to be the strong point of resistance, being from six to ten miles in rear of the first. The last one was at the very end of the promontory, and intended to cover the embarkation of troops, if necessary. From the time which elapsed before these lines were really occupied and brought into use, and also from the effect of certain floods, the outer line was made so strong that it became the barrier behind which the chief defence was prepared. We cannot follow Napier's detailed account of these lines, but must give his summing up:—

‘ Thus much I have thought fit to say respecting the lines, too little for the professional reader, too much, perhaps, for a general history. But I was desirous to notice, somewhat in detail, works more in keeping with ancient than modern military labours, partly that a just idea might be formed of the talents of the British engineers who constructed them, and partly to show that Lord Wellington's measures of defence were not, as some military writers have supposed, dependent upon the first line. Had that been stormed, the standard of Portuguese independence could still have been securely planted amidst the rocks of the second position.

‘ To occupy fifty miles of fortification, to man one hundred and fifty forts, and to work six hundred pieces of artillery, required a number of men; but a great fleet in the Tagus, a superb body of marines sent out

from England, the civic guards of Lisbon, the Portuguese heavy artillery corps, the militia and the ordenança of Estremadura, furnished, altogether, a powerful reserve. The native artillery and the militia supplied all the garrisons of the forts on the second, and most of those on the first line. The British marines occupied the third line; the navy manned the gunboats on the river, and aided, in various ways, the operation in the field. The recruits from the depôts, and all the men on furlough, being called in, rendered the Portuguese army stronger than it had yet been; and the British army, reinforced, as I have said, both from Cadiz and England, and remarkably healthy, presented such a front as a general would desire to see in a dangerous crisis.'—Vol. iii. pp. 357, 358.

Having prepared this secure and well-provided retreat, without the French general having any notion of his design, he accurately weighed each probable point of invasion by way of the frontier of Portugal, and disposed his forces accordingly. To provide food for the army was also a consideration that added much and continually to his cares.

'In the Peninsula generally, the supplies were at all times a source of infinite trouble on both sides, and this, not as some have supposed, because Spain is incapable of supplying large armies; there was throughout the war an abundance of food in that country, but it was unevenly distributed; some places were exhausted, others overflowing; the difficulty was to transport provisions, and in this the allies enjoyed a great advantage; their convoys could pass unmolested, whereas the French always required strong guards, first to collect food and then to bring it up to their armies. In Portugal there was however a real deficiency, even for the consumption of the people, and after a time scarcely any food for man or beast (some cattle and straw from the northern provinces excepted) was to be obtained in that country: nay, the whole nation was at last, in a manner, fed by England. Every part of the world accessible to ships and money was rendered subservient to the cravings of this insatiable war, and even thus, it was often a doubtful and a painful struggle against famine; while near the sea, but at a distance from that nurse of British armies, the means of transport necessarily regulated the extent of the supply. Now wheel-carriage was scarce and bad in Portugal, and for the most part the roads forbade its use; hence the only resource, for the conveyance of stores, was water-carriage to a certain distance, and afterwards beasts of burthen.'—Vol. iii. pp. 268, 269.

The respective difficulties of the French and English armies at this period are thus stated by the historian:—

'The unfavourable circumstances for France would appear to be, the absence of the emperor—the erroneous views of the king—the rivalry of the marshals—the impediments to correspondence—the necessity of frequently dispersing from the want of magazines—the iniquity of the cause, and the disgust of the French officers, who, for the most part, spoiled by a rapid course of victories on the continent, could not patiently endure a service replete with personal dangers, over and above the ordinary mishaps of war, yet promising little ultimate reward.

'For the English, the quicksands were—the memory of former failures on the continent—the financial drain—a powerful and eloquent Opposition pressing a Cabinet so timid and selfish that the general dared not risk a single brigade, lest an accident should lead to a panic amongst the ministers

which all Lord Wellesley's vigour would be unable to stem—the intrigues of the Souza party—and the necessity of persuading the Portuguese to devastate their country for the sake of defending a *European cause*. Finally, the babbling of the English newspapers, from whose columns the enemy constantly drew the most certain information of the strength and situation of the army.'—Vol. iii. pp. 269, 270.

The following beautiful and most true defence of the British infantry soldiers, we cannot but insert before we proceed to the more definite actions of the campaign:—

'It has been asserted that his undeniable firmness in battle is the result of a phlegmatic constitution uninspired by moral feeling. Never was a more stupid calumny uttered! Napoleon's troops fought in bright fields, where every helmet caught some beams of glory; but the British soldier conquered under the cold shade of aristocracy; no honours awaited his daring, no despatch gave his name to the applauses of his countrymen; his life of danger and hardship was uncheered by hope, his death unnoticed. Did his heart sink therefore! Did he not endure with surpassing fortitude the sorest of ills, sustain the most terrible assaults in battle unmoved, and, with incredible energy, overthrow every opponent, at all times proving that, while no physical military qualification was wanting, the fount of honour was also full and fresh within him!'—Vol. iii. pp. 271, 272.

In April it was known that Massena had arrived to command the French army, and that serious operations would soon commence. A great trial of Wellington's resolution and strength of purpose was now in store for him. The French were menacing the town of Ciudad Rodrigo, to possess which was a great point in their future plans. This was the outpost at which to defend Portugal, and Wellington was summoned to the relief.

'This was a trying moment! The English general had come from the Guadiana with the avowed purpose of securing Rodrigo; he had, in a manner, pledged himself to make it a point in his operations; his army was close at hand; the garrison brave and distressed; the governor honourably fulfilling his part. To permit such a place to fall without a stroke struck, would be a grievous disaster, and a more grievous dishonour to the British arms; the troops desired the enterprise; the Spaniards demanded it, as a proof of good faith; the Portuguese to keep the war away from their own country: finally, policy seemed to call for an effort, lest the world might deem the promised defence of Portugal a heartless and a hollow boast. Nevertheless, Romana returned without his object. Lord Wellington absolutely refused to venture even a brigade; and thus proved himself a truly great commander, and of a steadfast mind.'—Vol. iii. p. 281.

Wellington had to remember the war which he had undertaken in the large and comprehensive character of his commission. To have attempted the succour of Ciudad Rodrigo and have failed, he knew, would probably have caused a fearful reaction in his whole position, and the French were very strong both in numbers and general preparation.

'Massena, sagacious and well understanding his business, only desired that the attempt should be made. He held back his troops, appeared

careless, and in his proclamations taunted the English general, that he was afraid!—that the sails were flapping on the ships prepared to carry him away—that he was a man, who, insensible to military honour, permitted his ally's towns to fall without risking a shot to save them, or to redeem his plighted word! But all this subtlety failed; Lord Wellington was unmoved, and abided his own time. "If thou art a great general, Marius, come down and fight!" "If thou art a great general, Silo, make me come down and fight!"—Vol. iii. pp. 283, 284.

The river Coa yet remained, with the town of Almeida, near its banks, as a strong point of defence, before admission into Portugal was granted to the French. Terrible skirmishes on the river, conducted by Crawford, shed glory on our arms, and inflicted some loss on the enemy; but Almeida, with a garrison commanded by Colonel Cox, at length fell, as described in the following passage:—

'On the 18th, the trenches were begun under cover of a false attack, and in the morning of the 26th (the second parallel being commenced) sixty-five pieces of artillery mounted in ten batteries opened at once. Many houses were soon in flames, and the garrison was unable to extinguish them; the counter fire was, however, briskly maintained, little military damage was sustained, and towards evening the cannonade slackened on both sides; but just after dark the ground suddenly trembled, the castle, bursting into a thousand pieces, gave vent to a column of smoke and fire, and with a prodigious noise the whole town sunk into a shapeless ruin! Treason or accident had caused the magazines to explode, and the devastation was incredible. The ramparts were breached, the greatest part of the guns thrown into the ditch, five hundred people were struck dead on the instant, and only six houses left standing; the stones thrown out hurt forty of the besiegers in the trenches, and the surviving garrison, aghast at the horrid commotion, disregarded all exhortations to rally. Fearing that the enemy would take the opportunity to storm the ramparts, the governor beat to arms, and, running to the walls, with the help of an artillery officer fired off the few guns that remained; but the French shells fell thickly all the night, and in the morning of the 27th, two officers appeared at the gates, with a letter from Massena, offering terms.'—Vol. iii. pp. 304, 305.

The allied camp, in the distance, saw the steeple of Almeida church fall to the ground; the explosion was heard, and the cessation of artillery added further confirmation, if needed, that there was an end of all such hopes, as the sanguine might have entertained, of the French being kept out of Portugal. Wellington, from another position, saw through a telescope many French officers on the glacis of the place, and then knew that forthwith his plan of the retreat to Torres Vedras must be carried out; for hitherto, that plan had been nominally dependent on the prior question of his ability to defend the frontier of Portugal. A slight pause followed, Massena not having sufficient information to pursue his advantage with great alacrity; meanwhile, Wellington secured his position for a gradual and well ordered retreat, and having kept his own counsel as to the final

refuge that was behind him, he presented the extraordinary and mysterious spectacle to all around him, of a man apparently defeated at every point, yet, though possessed of ample power and entrusted by the allied governments of several countries, and having his own reputation at stake, making no adequate attempts to recover lost ground, or avert fresh calamities. Lord Wellington had an extraordinary power of keeping his plans secret, and of enduring any amount of misapprehension, in consequence of their not being known or understood. It was impossible for any one to have acted as he did, in this respect, without being conscious of a peculiar power to gain unbounded confidence and personal respect; but nothing except the most extreme necessity could justify his apparent want of confidence towards others. We believe that necessity to have existed in the miserable weakness of the Peninsular authorities, and also in the peculiar nature of his designs, which, having always a large share of strategy in them, would have failed of their purpose if known to others.

He was very little seen, we believe, in the army, and even officers in high rank were often profoundly ignorant of their whole position and prospects. Junior officers went through the whole war and perhaps only saw him once. One, no longer a junior now after forty years more of life, whom we questioned on this point, informed us that the only occasion on which he came near the Duke, was under the following characteristic circumstances. He was marching very quietly in his regiment, anticipating no immediate excitement, when the Duke was observed in the adjoining field, standing on the ground, intently studying a map, his horse being held by his side; he all at once looked up to the regiment and said, in a plain but decisive manner,—‘When you reach the corner of that wood, (which was ‘close at hand,) a brisk fire will open upon you; but I know the ‘gallantry of the regiment, and you will soon have assistance.’ It is needless to add that his information proved to be true. So anxious for information were the English on some occasions, that they had recourse to friendly parleyings, with French officers, from the opposite banks of a river. French newspapers were put round stones and thrown over to enlighten our army, we know not how correctly, as to where they were and what they were doing. It was even said occasionally that Wellington was absent from the army; so little information transpired from him, to remind others of his presence.

Again, we often hear of his dinner parties to general officers, at which, after two glasses of wine, he would retire to the recesses of his tent, and be forthwith buried in ink and paper, to be seen no more; but on one occasion, just as the party were

separating and discussing the comfort of the various quarters where they were to spend the night, he reappeared, and ordered them with the utmost simplicity to get on their horses, for active measures would commence at eleven o'clock. At the period also which we are now considering, viz. just after the fall of Almeida, our historian makes the following comment with regard to the works of Torres Vedras:—

‘ Indeed, so circumspectly had those works been carried on, that only vague rumours of their existence reached the bulk of the English army; and many British officers imagined that the campaign was only to cloak the general’s intention of embarking when he reached Lisbon. In England the Opposition asserted that he would do so: the Portuguese dreaded it; the French army universally believed it; and the British ministers seem to have entertained the same opinion; for at this time an officer of engineers arrived at Lisbon, whose instructions, received personally from Lord Liverpool, were unknown to Lord Wellington, and commenced thus,—“*As it is probable that the army will embark in September.*”’—Vol. iii. pp. 310, 311.

It was natural that the opening thus given to the French to enter Portugal should excite the wonder and elicit the remonstrance of the local powers, who imagined that the defence of their country was Wellington’s primary and immediate object. It was politely intimated that a most unforeseen accident must have prevented the efficient succour of Almeida, a misfortune which would doubtless be remedied by subsequent energies. In answer to this he wrote to M. Forjas in a strain which, with the greatest courtesy, and the fullest acknowledgment of his grief, yet is most illustrative both of his art in diplomacy and his resolute determination of purpose. We cannot but think that the complete document will be interesting to our readers:—

‘Gouvea, September 6, 1810.

‘ MOST ILLUSTRIOUS SIR,—I have received your letter of the 1st of this month, informing me that you had placed before the government of this kingdom my despatch of the 27th of August, announcing the melancholy and unexpected news of the loss of Almeida, and that the government had learned with sorrow that an accident unforeseen had prevented my moving to succour the place, hoping, at the same time, that the depression of the people, caused by such an event, will soon vanish, by the quick and great successes which they expect with certainty from the efforts of the army. I have already made known to the government of the kingdom that the fall of Almeida was unexpected by me, and that I deplored its loss and that of my hopes, considering it likely to depress and afflict the people of this kingdom. It was by no means my intention, however, in that letter, to state whether it had or had not been my intention to have succoured the place, and I now request the permission of the government of the kingdom to say that, much as I wish to remove the impression which this misfortune has justly made on the public, I do not propose to alter the system and plan of operations which have been determined, after the most serious deliberation, as best adequate to further the general cause of the allies, and, consequently, Portugal. I request the government to believe that I am not insensible to the value of their confidence as well as that of the public; as, also, that I am highly interested in removing the anxiety

of the public upon the late misfortune; but I should forget my duty to my sovereign, to the Prince Regent, and to the cause in general, if I should permit public clamour or panic to induce me to change, in the smallest degree, the system and plan of operations which I have adopted, after mature consideration, and which daily experience shows to be the only one likely to produce a good end. (Signed) WELLINGTON.'

—Vol. iii. pp. 588, 589.

In a despatch on the very next day we find the preparatory measures for a retreat most authoritatively ordered, and the Portuguese had for a time to be satisfied with no other activity but that required of themselves in the destruction of their own country. Great was the difficulty in obtaining even a partial obedience to such orders, and he had to tell them that 'their 'miserable intrigues must cease or he would advise his own 'government to withdraw the British army.'

Though never flinching from his first design, it was yet part of Wellington's character, always to be prepared to alter his immediate operations in such a measure as the imperfect obedience of his allies rendered necessary. In the present instance it was his design to retreat into Torres Vedras, leaving a desolated country for the invaders, who could not long retain their position without the means of support. In spite, however, of all his injunctions, he still found that the country was able to support an invading army, and that consequently the following alternatives alone remained.

'Lord Wellington could but choose, then, between stopping the invaders on the Mondego, or wasting the country by force as he retreated. But what an act the last! His hopes depended upon the degree of moral strength he was enabled to call forth, and he would have had to retire with a mixed force before a powerful army and an eminent commander, his rear-guard engaged, and his advance driving miserable multitudes before it to the capital, where nothing was prepared to save them from famine, but where the violent and powerful faction in the regency was ready to misrepresent every proceeding, and inflame the people's minds; and this, when the court of Rio Janeiro was discontented, and the English ministers, as I shall have occasion to show, panic stricken by the desponding letters of some general officers about the commander-in-chief! It was evidently necessary to fight, although Massena had above sixty thousand veterans, and Lord Wellington could only bring about fifty thousand men into line, more than half of which were untried soldiers.'—Vol. iii. pp. 321, 322.

Resistance being now decided on, he selected his position with such judgment and tact, and disposed his forces to such admirable advantage, as to show most clearly that, if he thought proper, he was not afraid to face the enemy. Having explored the Caramula range of mountains, north of the Mondego river, he took his stand on the ridges of Busaco, and exhibited such a formidable position, that the only fear seemed to be lest Massena should decline to assail it, and pass by another way. In answer to such apprehension, Wellington replied, with the triumph of

successful genius, 'But if he does, I shall beat him.' He knew full well that the French Marshal, flushed with apparent success, would be too glad of a battle, and he calculated on that avidity in the choice of a position, which, under common circumstances, would be so uninviting to an assailant force.

Marshal Ney, with a magic glance at the heights, saw through Wellington's position, and detected its only weak point, which was the want of reserve forces, incident on the abrupt nature of the ground, especially when occupied in haste, and with but little previous survey. He was eager for an immediate attack, but delay ensuing, from the scattered state of the French army, and the distance of their generals from each other, the opportunity was lost, though Massena would not decline the subsequent attempt. We cannot describe the battle of Busaco further than to mention the astounding impetuosity of the French soldiers in scaling the heights, with cannon and musketry assailing them from every point. The strength of the ground, however, was too great, and they were finally repulsed; but the armies parted with their mutual respect much increased. It was now seen by both, that they had to struggle against those who had genius to command, and valour to fight, such as were not often combined. But amid the din of the battle of Busaco, we read the following calm and touching interlude:—

'Meanwhile an affecting incident, contrasting strongly with the savage character of the preceding events, added to the interest of the day. A poor orphan Portuguese girl, about seventeen years of age, and very handsome, was seen coming down the mountain and driving an ass, loaded with all her property, through the midst of the French army. She had abandoned her dwelling in obedience to the proclamation, and now passed over the field of battle with a childish simplicity, totally unconscious of her perilous situation; and scarcely understanding which were the hostile and which the friendly troops, for no man on either side was so brutal as to molest her.'—Vol. iii. p. 334.

All the apparent advantage, however, of this victory was a short delay, during which the inhabitants might be preparing for the enemy's approach. The French army, taking another passage, were drawing nearer and nearer. A little skirmishing at Coimbra was now all that delayed their progress; for the allied army, preceded by a grievous train of the inhabitants, only at the last moment aroused to the dire necessity of flight, was now approaching the fortified lines:—

'Mothers, with children of all ages; the sick, the old, the bedridden, and even lunatics, went or were carried forth; the most part, with little hope and less help, to journey for days in company with contending armies. Fortunately for this unhappy multitude, the weather was fine, and the roads firm, or the greater number must have perished in the most deplorable manner. And, notwithstanding all this misery, the object was not gained: the people fled, but the provisions were left, and the mills were but partially and imperfectly ruined.'—Vol. iii. pp. 336, 337.

Another scene of a similar kind is thus described:—

‘ This scrambling affair obliged the light division to march hastily through the city, to gain the defiles of Condeixa, which commence at the end of the bridge; and all the inhabitants who had not before quitted the place, rushed out, each with what could be caught up in the hand, and driving before them a number of animals loaded with sick people or children. At the entrance to the bridge, the press was so great that the troops halted for a few moments, just under the prison; the jailor had fled with the keys, the prisoners, crowding to the windows, were endeavouring to tear down the bars with their hands, and even with their teeth, and bellowing in the most frantic manner, while the bitter lamentations of the multitude increased, and the pistol-shots of the cavalry, engaged at the ford below, were distinctly heard.’—Vol. iii. pp. 337, 338.

Wellington and the whole allied army, once within the lines of Torres Vedras, present a picture of successful strategy that it would be hard to equal. There was a sublime craftiness in his position, which can hardly be thought of with gravity. There is a perfection and neatness about the whole affair, which, like many other images of truth and reality, can best be brought home to our imaginations by a certain mixture of the humorous. We can almost fancy to ourselves the revered Duke’s aquiline face and clear but subtle eye, looking over the fortifications of Torres Vedras with a dignified complacency and a calm conviction of success, which, as it is suggestive of the caricaturist’s pencil, was also the greatest conceivable moral triumph over the outwitted Ney and Massena. Driving, as they thought, the English ‘leopards’ into the sea, with the immediate prospect of making Lisbon the terrible scene of pillage by a French army, they suddenly, without knowing of the existence of them five days before, came to impregnable lines of defence, fully garrisoned and provided with artillery. They fumed up and down the impenetrable walls, but found no access, and then were chilled to the heart by the reflection that, as the country was like a huge desert, they must soon be overpowered by that terrible enemy, famine, before which no courage, or no ferocity is of any avail. An ignominious retreat would therefore follow.

But if thus we may view the actual triumph enjoyed by Wellington at that moment, we must not imagine that it was felt by all his allies, or understood by his countrymen at home. Far from this, his unpopularity seems now to have reached its crisis, while the actual difficulties of his position left him no time to dwell even on his past success. He had arrived at a most critical point of his great game; and to fail now—for plenty of causes, that might end in his failure, were at hand—would be indeed a fall. He had to feed his army, and also the whole multitude who were now enclosed within the lines, comprehending, we must remember, the inhabitants of a vast district

over which he had passed, and also the city of Lisbon. Every country was ransacked for corn at any price; all vessels entering the port were pressed into the service; and all the bullion and jewels that could be obtained were kept on board the English men-of-war, both for their safe custody, and that they might be used as required. The usual impediments beset him here also.

‘All these measures were vehemently opposed by the Patriarch and his faction; and that nothing might be wanting to show how entirely the fate of the Peninsula depended, in that hour, upon Lord Wellington’s firmness, the fears of the British cabinet, which had been increasing as the crisis approached, were now plainly disclosed. During the retreat from the north, affairs seemed so gloomy to the eyes of some officers of rank, that their correspondence bore evidence of their feelings; and the letters of General Spencer and General Charles Stewart appeared so desponding, to Lord Liverpool, that he transmitted them to Lord Wellington, and, by earnestly demanding an opinion upon their contents, showed how deeply they had disturbed his own mind.

‘Thus beset on every side, the English general rose like a giant. Without noticing either the arguments or the forebodings in these letters, he took a calm historical review of the grounds upon which he had undertaken the defence of Portugal, and which he had before pointed out to the minister he was addressing; then showing that, up to that period, his views had been in every instance borne out by the results, he demonstrated that it was reasonable to confide in his judgment of what was to come. Having thus vindicated his own prudence and foresight by irresistible facts, he proceeded to trace the probable course of future events, entered largely into both his own and the enemy’s designs, and with such a judgment and sagacity that the subsequent course of the war never belied his anticipations. This remarkable letter exists, and, were all other records of Lord Wellington’s genius to be lost, it would alone suffice to vindicate his great reputation to posterity.’—Vol. iii. pp. 365, 366.

It is needless that we should enter further upon the subject of all the difficulties that still surrounded Lord Wellington; but an expression is recorded of him which is both illustrative of the steady and comprehensive view which he took of the whole war, as though he were playing a game of chess, on each move of which, in its critical parts, the whole depended; and also of the unceasing patience with which all the circumstances of his own plans were constantly watched, in order to ascertain the punctuality with which his directions had been followed. In some parts of the country, enough food had been left, contrary to his urgent commands, to give serious cause of alarm lest, after all, the French army might subsist until an overwhelming force should arrive from Spain to their aid. ‘It is heart-breaking,’ was his bitter reflection, ‘to contemplate the chance of failure from such obstinacy and folly.’

Some of the shorter histories of the Duke of Wellington which have been compiled for casual readers, such as that published in the *Times*, make far too brief an affair of Massena’s

stay before the lines of Torres Vedras. He is stated, indeed, with truth to have remained actually in front of them only a month; but the retreat which took place then was by no means final. Wellington cautiously pursued him, and sent expeditions up the Tagus to harass him in his march: but it was soon discovered that he had only fallen back, and that with perfect order, on the town of Santarem, which was little more than a day's march in the rear, and commanded all the approaches, together with the river Tagus. This place he fortified with the utmost care, and adhered to his position with a tenacity that betokened a desperate enemy. The allied armies entered the lines on the 8th of October, and Massena did not commence his retreat from Santarem till the 8th of March, 1811. Five months, therefore, of the winter season passed over these two armies, each struggling, amid dreadful privations and hardships, for the longest powers of endurance. Wellington calculated the balance of advantages for and against risking a battle; but the complete annihilation of all his hopes which must have followed any defeat, determined him on preserving his defensive position within the lines. Meanwhile, Marshal Soult was preparing to help Massena from the south of Spain, and Wellington was not left without serious apprehensions lest the French army should be recruited with so great an additional force, and so ample a store of provisions, as to enable them to carry the day. In November, the head of the ninth corps actually reached Ciudad Rodrigo, bringing a large convoy of provisions collected in Castile; but Wellington, by sending expeditions up the river, succeeded in cutting off any extended communication between Massena and his allies.

For a complete understanding of the relations that existed between these two armies during the winter, we must refer the reader to the complicated state of the war in Spain during the same period. It is enough for our present object to state, at once, the conclusion of that part of the war which was concerned with the lines of Torres Vedras. Wellington, having waited for relief from England till patience was well-nigh exhausted, at length received an addition to his force, on the 2d of March. Procrastination at starting, and the loss thereby of favourable winds, had retarded for so long a time the arrival which had been most anxiously expected. Once come, however, Wellington had an advantage over Massena, who had not yet been reinforced by Soult. The French army was now worn out by sickness and scarcity of food. Massena was obstinate: nothing but dire necessity would compel him to retreat; nor did he give way till no more food was left than would maintain his army during a forced march into Spain. At last this necessity arrived, and

the retreat commenced, at a time when ten days longer would have brought Soult and provisions to his help. How acute must have been his mortification, to have lost his year's campaign, his previous successes, his own reputation, and well-nigh his army, by these few days! He had chased the English from Spain into a few rocks that overlooked the Atlantic, and now, after straining every nerve, was obliged to arrive at the humiliating conclusion, that one small step further into the wide ocean itself, was beyond his power to compel.

The game was now played; Wellington issued at length from behind his retreat and commenced the pursuit. He was cautious at first and looked well around him, like some animal which has been driven to earth, and which after a time creeps out and silently pauses at the mouth of its retreat, to be sure that the pursuers have gone. He then set forth in steady order of march. Nor was every precaution unnecessary. Massena exhibited wonderful power, even in this retreat, of preserving his army in a condition ever ready for action, himself being also ready to profit by the slightest weakness of his opponent.

The march of the English disclosed some of the horrible calamities which had been endured in the desolated country, so long the scene of war.

'A large house, situated in an obscure part of the mountains, was discovered, filled with starving persons. Above thirty women and children had sunk, and sitting by the bodies, were fifteen or sixteen survivors, of whom one only was a man, but all so enfeebled as to be unable to eat the little food we had to offer them. The youngest had fallen first; all the children were dead; none were emaciated in the bodies, but the muscles of the face were invariably drawn transversely, giving the appearance of laughing, and presenting the most ghastly sight imaginable. The man seemed most eager for life; the women appeared patient and resigned, and even in this distress, had arranged the bodies of those who first died, with decency and care.'—Vol. iii. p. 457.

Nor were such horrors the result only of stationary warfare, in a district unable to provide food. The following passage gives us a terrible insight into the retreat which followed.

'I pass over the destruction of Redinha, Condeixa, Miranda de Corvo, and many villages on the route; the burning of those towns covered the retrograde movements of the army, and something must be attributed to the disorder which usually attends a forced retreat: but the town of Leiria, and the convent of Alcobaça, were given to the flames by express orders from the French head-quarters; and, although the laws of war, rigorously interpreted, authorize such examples when the inhabitants take arms, it can only be justly done for the purpose of overawing the people, and not from a spirit of vengeance when abandoning the country. But every horror that could make war hideous attended this dreadful march! Distress, conflagrations, death in all modes! from wounds, from fatigue, from water, from the flames, from starvation! On every side unlimited violence, unlimited vengeance! I myself saw a peasant hounding on his dog, to

devour the dead and dying; and the spirit of cruelty once unchained smote even the brute creation. On the 15th, the French general, to diminish the encumbrances of his march, ordered a number of beasts of burthen to be destroyed; the inhuman fellow charged with the execution hamstringed five hundred asses and left them to starve, and thus they were found by the British army on that day. The mute but deep expression of pain and grief visible in these poor creatures' looks wonderfully roused the fury of the soldiers; and so little weight has reason with the multitude, when opposed by a momentary sensation, that no quarter would have been given to any prisoner at that moment. Excess of feeling would have led to direct cruelty. This shows how dangerous it is in war to listen to the passions at all, since the most praiseworthy could be thus perverted by an accidental combination of circumstances.'—Vol. iii. pp. 471, 472.

After a brilliant passage of arms, the final one on Portuguese ground, at Sabugal, which Wellington stated was 'one of the most glorious actions that British troops were ever engaged in,' Massena crossed the frontier on the 5th of April. He had entered Portugal with sixty-five thousand men; his reinforcements, while at Santarem, were about ten thousand, and now he repassed the frontiers with forty-five thousand, having lost from one cause or other about thirty thousand. Now was the completion of Wellington's triumph, when he 'stood victorious on the confines of Portugal; having executed what to others appeared incredibly rash and vain to attempt.' Once in motion after this, he never had to retrace his ground, but went through a path of victory, till he reached Paris itself.

Thus ended that manifestation of subtle craft, of untiring vigilance, and patient moral endurance, for which we cited the retreat to Torres Vedras, as peculiarly characteristic of the Duke of Wellington. We do not mean that his genius for war was in any sense confined to this mode of operation, but it is full of interest to watch, not only the brilliant engagements and larger battles in which a man like Wellington was engaged, but also the protracted exercise of many intellectual and moral qualities, during a long campaign, that was specially the creation of his own brain, and that consequently brought out all his instinctive powers with a peculiar strength.

For impetuous dash in the larger battles of the war, Wellington needs no advocate to assert his power. Salamanca and Vittoria testify to his brilliancy at a crisis, as the retreat to Torres Vedras will prove that his faculties were great, not only when stimulated by the clash of arms, but when left singularly without any help, except the inward secret power of a large mind and an indomitable *will*.

In thus contrasting the different qualities of a general that render him fit to conduct a furious charge on the one hand, and to encounter all the moral difficulties of a lengthened campaign on the other, it is curious to read the opinion of a

Frenchman as to which kind of warfare was most congenial to Wellington's disposition. We have referred to Lamartine's 'Wellington and Waterloo,' and been somewhat amused at the picture there drawn of the general whose course we have been following through a critical period of his great war. It is amazing how ignorant and ill-informed even an intelligent Frenchman may be, as to the nature of English politics in general, and our war with themselves in particular.

'He was, in fact, a warrior altogether modern, from character, from principle, and from the voluptuous habits contracted in India, and in Spain. Like Frederick II. or Turenne, he did not tighten and restrict before the hour of action the discipline and spirit of his companions in arms. He allowed his generals, his young officers, and his soldiers to enjoy the pleasures, the amusements, and the voluptuousness which he permitted to himself. Stringent only as to punctuality and bravery in action, he allowed the rigours of his camp to relax, both before and after, without fear of his troops becoming effeminate. He was of opinion that the soldier, bound to expose his life at every hazard, might forestal death, which was always at hand, by enjoying, when the hour was his own, those fleeting pleasures of the heart or the senses snatched from the fatigues and dangers of the camp. The rigid English reproached him with allowing the morals of his young staff-officers to be corrupted by too much indulgence, and with treating men as the Hindoos treat elephants, which they intoxicate to make them more warlike.'—*Lamartine*, pp. 26, 27.

Again, the following description of a portion of the battle of Waterloo is strongly at variance with all our notions of Wellington.

'Wellington, who was on horseback in the midst of his staff, under a lofty tree, an object which was frequently struck by the French round shot, saw the disaster which had befallen the artillery in the hollow. He galloped towards two of his regiments of dragoons, drawn up on the edge of the slope. He ordered the curb-chains to be taken off the bridles, that the horses having the greater impetus uncontrolled by their riders might crush the French cavalry down the slope under their irresistible weight and impulse; a desperate manœuvre, worthy of the Numidians against the Romans, and which the height and impetuosity of the English horses rendered still more desperate. He then caused brandy to be distributed to the dragoons to intoxicate the men with liquid fire, whilst the sound of the clarion should intoxicate the horses; and launched them himself at full speed down the declivity of Mont-Saint-Jean.'—*Ibid.* p. 62.

It is also stated that, 'having mounted his eighth horse, he 'charged, sword in hand, like a simple soldier, in the midst of 'his gallant troops.' From these we would gather that Wellington was a reckless, dissipated, wild, though brave and impetuous soldier. However untrue this is, there may yet be sufficient truth in it to exculpate that cautious and deeply studious character we have been tracing, from any imputation of being deficient of power in the wildest scenes of battle and in the terrors of the field.

We have thought it a natural part of this subject, in our handling of it, to look at a few sermons that have been preached either directly on the character of the Duke of Wellington, or on his death and public funeral. On the whole, we have been disappointed, as, with few exceptions, there is little in them which called for a more extended circulation than the memory of their hearers might afford them.

The Rev. W. B. Mackenzie, Incumbent of St. James's, Holloway, took very early advantage of the Duke's death to make some general remarks from the pulpit on *glory* with its dangers, &c. to the human heart, which he illustrated with a great variety of scripture characters very little to the purpose. We cannot, indeed, imagine why Mr. Seeley was called in to imprint these remarks for the public at large.

The Rev. Richard Reade has published one under the title of 'The Conqueror's Rest.' He compared the Duke to so many scripture characters, as Abner, Joshua, one or all of the Judges, that the simplicity of any one such analogy is destroyed, while the only distinct idea communicated in the sermon is the somewhat bare statement that the subject of it 'died on Tuesday, the 14th of September, at about three o'clock in the afternoon.'

Another sermon, by the Rev. Henry Sullivan, M.A., in consequence of its sonorous but inappropriate title, 'A great man fallen,' and by diligent advertising, has reached a second edition. It contains some just remarks on fixed principles of action, but dwells with somewhat of exaggeration on the Duke's example in going to St. James's Chapel once a week; as if the main idea of his character could be twisted into a saintlike love of the Church ritual. Rather than thus forcing attention from the real great qualities of such a man, by making him a model in affairs which, except as illustrative of his general high principle and sound common sense, were not prominent in his character, his education, or his habits, we prefer the judicious remark of the *Times* newspaper, that his religious views were marked by 'a total absence of cant.'

On this subject, however, we quote the following sensible remarks from Mr. Marriott's sermon, which go at once to the real point of his character:—

'Though in his latter days especially he showed a marked attention to many of the outward duties of religion, and though, from his known sincerity of character, we cannot well suppose that observance to have been other than the real expression of his inward thoughts, yet he is known to us not as a saint, but as a great man of the world. And I think it is more profitable to use his example in this respect, than to speculate upon the probability of his having repented as a Christian ought of this or that fault, a question which we might after all solve otherwise than it will be solved by the Judge of quick and dead. And even the reflections we might

indulge on the vanity of earthly greatness, the shortness of the longest life, and the strange blank that comes over our mortal existence when it draws to a close, are less likely to have a permanent effect on our character, than a wise and clear observation of the points of strength by which one of the greatest of men prevailed over every adversary.

‘Our calling in this world, whether it be sacred or worldly, is a great part of our duty. Whatsoever our hand findeth to do, we do well to do it with our might, and diligence in business is one way of serving the Lord. In this sense, at least, we have an example almost unequalled in him whose mortal remains must now shortly be committed to the grave. Never was there a man who showed a more remarkable determination to do *well* whatever he did. Never was there a man who served his king and his country with more disinterested zeal, sacrificing what seemed to be opportunities of distinguishing himself, or of gaining promotion, or of appropriating to himself credit that he really deserved, sooner than allow the very slightest hindrance to the public service. It was a maxim of his life that private interest was to give way to duty and to the public good, and, richly as he was rewarded by a country able and desirous to reward unequalled services, he never grasped at rewards. He gave himself, in dutiful faith, to his country, and his country honours him the more because he preferred duty to honours, and strove rather to be faithful and useful to her, than to be thought so by men.’—*Marriott's Sermon*, pp. 5, 6.

Mr. Sewell, in his sermon called ‘The Servant of Christ,’ derives an eloquent lesson from the self-devotion of the Duke in the cause of his country and his sovereign, and applies this to the spiritual obedience of a Christian. The result of this is an excellent sermon, but the instructive part so far prevails over any descriptive notices of the great subject, on which the admonitions are founded, that we miss the leading idea of personal interest, which should mark a funeral oration. We regret this the more from the appropriateness and elegance of the few touches which there are of this kind, such as the following:—

‘He of whom we are thinking, even in the last infirmities of age, would have quitted his comforts and his glories, and gone forth to have sunk exhausted upon the sands of India, if his Sovereign had given the word. And shall we do less for Christ?’—*Sewell's Sermon*, p. 8.

Towards the conclusion he thus alludes with great force of contrast to various associations and ideas connected with his memory:—

‘And so it was with him whom we have lost. When the mightiest of the land trembled to provoke his rebuke, and almost to approach his presence, he was found with little children. He nursed them, played with them, sat by their sick-bed and told them stories of his battles, fondled them, kept for them his little store of childish memorials, delighted to be present in their school, and to stand by and gaze on their amusements; and the eye which at the call of duty could face unmoved and stern the horrors of the battle-field, and the launching of thousands to destruction at the bidding of his word, would melt and soften into tears at witnessing the joyousness of children.

‘He is gone; and we are preparing to lay him in the grave by the hands as it were of this whole empire, in the midst of the mournings of Europe.

‘And the world, as it gazes upon that funeral pomp, will think of fame, and victory, and glory; of the liberties of Europe, of vengeance upon tyrants, and of the salvation of this great empire. And those of deeper thoughts will look beneath these vanities of earth, and dwell with reverence and affection on the glorious features of that character, the true object of our gratitude and homage. But our eyes must look still deeper; the eyes of those who would judge as God will judge, and who tremble at the horrible mockery of heaping honour upon the ashes of the dead, while the spirit all trembling and condemned may be cowering at the judgment-seat of Heaven. And therefore I have offered these suggestions. It is something in these solemn moments to recal those many acts, by which he exhibited, in relation to God, the same spirit of obedience and duty so striking in his relation to his Sovereign,—in public prayer, in daily study of the Scriptures, in recognition of the authority of God’s ministers, in submission, whether in the doctrine, or discipline, or order of the Church, (I am alluding to facts not yet generally known,) to whatever was commanded, whatever was law.’—*Ibid.* pp. 19—21.

As a funeral oration, we admire Professor Blunt’s sermon, preached before the University of Cambridge on the Sunday after the funeral. He enters boldly, yet modestly, on his task, keeping clear of that preamble of generalities which so often is nothing but the mark of a confused mind. A simplicity and earnestness of purpose rules throughout. Speaking critically, we can fancy in the style of it, that the writer had not sufficient time to acquire full confidence in himself; he seems to restrain himself from going as deep into the investigation of character as would have been appropriate to the hearing of his audience. He is occasionally content with dwelling too exclusively on such ordinary features of an upright character as the Duke manifested on the surface of his actions, and thus far he hardly deduces the full intellectual idea from those profounder talents which were the origin of his fame. It is, however, more pleasing that a funeral oration should allude to the plain facts, which were the tokens of greatness, and to the moral and virtuous qualities of its subject, rather than be an abstruse ethical discourse on mere intellectual powers. Professor Blunt, nevertheless, shows a very high appreciation of the Duke’s greatest qualities, and this he expresses in most eloquent words:—

‘We owe it to the discipline established amongst the troops by his dominant mind that they could live at ease in the field, where freebooters would have starved; that confidence was felt in their humanity, their honour, and, above all, their habitual obedience to law; and that accordingly the peasants feared not to bring provisions freely into the camp; and districts, apparently without a resource, yielded up hidden treasures for their use in ample profusion. No traces of their march were left behind in villages reduced to ashes, in churches desecrated and defiled, and in pleasant lands turned into a desolate wilderness through wanton outrage. By the time the troops engaged in the war of the Peninsula had reached the Pyrenees, corporal punishment, as their great leader tells us, had

almost entirely ceased; in spite of there materials of which, as I have said, they were so largely made up. What a triumph of moral over brute strength was here!—*Blunt's Sermon*, p. 11.

The following passage, again, is specially appropriate to the part of his life we have been illustrating in these pages:—

‘Turn to his Despatches, and there observe the extraordinary *self-control* they exhibit; the tranquillity with which their great author bears affront and disparagement, trusting to time to vindicate his acts and confound his critics. And well has it done its office already; and records there are of speeches and manifestos of those days, still existing, which their authors would doubtless now be but too glad to blot out of remembrance. What if his ablest schemes are thwarted by unworthy contests at home and scanty supplies; not a touch of mortification discovers itself, not a trace of wounded vanity is betrayed. What if wily officials, having ends of their own to serve, plot against him in Portugal; what if jealous and impotent generals refuse to co-operate with him cordially in Spain; what if no adequate exertions can be wrung from the authorities in either country to furnish him with the munitions of war—their care being rather to hang upon *his* resources, than minister to him of their own;—still he never allows himself to lose heart, but makes the best of the means at his command; applies what corrections he can to the evils before him; and goes on his way, if not rejoicing, yet not cast down.’—*Ibid.* pp. 18, 19.

One more extract from this honest, high-minded, ingenuous sermon.

‘Time fails me, or I would gladly speak of the spirit with which he stood by his friends when in trouble, and the protection he threw over them when popular rancour would hunt them down—of the allowance he was ever disposed to make for human infirmity, where infirmity was all that could be imputed; and the reluctance which he felt to put any man needlessly to shame. Above all, I would speak of his *loyalty* to the throne, which seemed to animate him like a passion; to give vigour to all his acts, great or small, which had a reference to it; and to breathe in his most familiar forms of speech. It was the Queen’s government, the Queen’s army, the Queen’s ministers. And, indeed, it is not easy to imagine a relationship more affecting than that which evidently subsisted between a youthful Monarch, of the feebler sex, and this heroic old man, whose sword to the last “would have leaped from its scabbard to avenge even a look that should threaten her with insult.” Certainly the age of chivalry was not gone so long as he was amongst us; and what traces of it have still survived these utilitarian times, are mainly, perhaps, to be ascribed to him. May they not perish in his dust!’—*Ibid.* pp. 21, 22.

We have received seventeen or eighteen other funeral sermons. The *vates sacri*, in this case, will probably perish before the Agamemnon whom they celebrate. We cannot select any with incontestable titles to immortality. Of those which have reached us, Dr. Croly’s is the most ambitious: and one, under a title which is not its chief recommendation, ‘The Battle-axe of God,’ by Mr. Miller, of Bognor, is among the most eloquent.

From these sermons on the Duke of Wellington, we beg to remind our readers of a most useful sermon *by* him, upon a subject in which we take peculiar interest. He was a strong

advocate for chairs or open seats in churches, and with that shrewdness of common sense which marked all his opinions, and all his information, he perceived even on this subject the exact residence of those unfortunate prejudices which retain the pew system. He attributed the evil not to the aristocracy or to the poor, but the middle classes. This view is stated to have been expressed in a letter to a clergyman who asked for his assistance, which was given on condition that open seats were to be the system of the church. May this cause then have the weight of that sound common sense, which is universally attributed to the opinions of the Duke of Wellington, on whatever subject he thought it worth while to express himself. We wish the letter were printed, or that the Duke's remarks were given in some authentic form, with the name of the hearer or correspondent to attest them.

From a career of more than fourscore years, it is but a few months that we have been reviewing; and in the tributes of praise to his memory, it is but one particular demonstration that we have noticed. But it is a result attaching to a great character, that we may learn the whole by a proper study of a part.

- ART. II.—1. *A Form of Family Prayer, with Special Offices for the Seasons.* (With a Preface signed 'NELSON.') London: Masters. 1852.
2. *Bishop Andrewes' Devotions.*
3. *Lessons for the Days of the Week.* London: Masters.
4. *Devotions in the antient way of Offices, for every Day in the Week, &c.* By GEORGE HICKES, D.D. 1717.
5. *Prayers for a Christian Household.* By Rev. T. BOWDLER. London: Pickering. 1848.
6. *Family Offices.* By W. PERCEVAL WARD, M.A. London: Masters. 1848.
7. *Daily Office for the Use of Families.* London: J. H. Parker. 1851.
8. *Holiness in the Priest's Household, &c. &c.* (By late Rev. R. A. SUCKLING.) London: Masters. 1852.
9. *Family Devotions for a Fortnight; adapted from Andrewes, Ken, &c.* London: Masters. 1850.
10. *A Broad-sheet of Family Prayers for the Labouring Classes.* Chichester: Mason. 1853.

THE subject of this article is one upon which we should enter with the utmost diffidence and misgiving, were it our purpose to attempt to lay down any very full or precise rules, or to endeavour to satisfy all classes of minds with respect to it. Our aim is far simpler; and it may conduce to clearness if we state it at the outset. It is, then, to inquire whether there be not some definite *ἔργον*, some work or function proper to itself, to be discharged by what is variously called 'Family,' 'Household,' or 'Domestic' 'Worship,' 'Service,' or 'Prayer;' and how far we may, out of that distinctive idea, approximate to some general canons or principles in the matter.

We believe that the absence of such distinctive idea is the principal source of the unsatisfactoriness which belongs, by pretty general consent, to household offices, after what pattern soever conceived. Of course there *must* be unsatisfactoriness, so long as this is the case; and that of the most fundamental kind. When a machinery is devised and set going with only a dim general idea of doing good, it would be a wonder indeed if it performed to our satisfaction, or if it did *not* trench upon other and better and more accredited ways of doing the same work. There is no test or standard whereby to measure our satisfaction or dissatisfaction with such a piece of machinery; and the apparent well-working of it may be only comparative after all; it may still be that we had better have left the matter alone. Now this is just the case of household services. A general idea that

we ought to be religious, and that we ought to meet together for religious purposes, is the basis of the practice now pretty generally prevailing among us, where religion is thought of at all. We ought, it is felt, to acknowledge God, as a household; and accordingly some form of family worship is devised or adopted. And at first sight all seems plain sailing. But it cannot be long before the question forces itself upon us,—What place is this ordinance, if so we may call it, to take in our estimation, and in the spiritual system under which our souls are living? Some place it must have; what is it? To those, indeed, who live at random in spiritual things, and ‘get good,’ as the phrase is, whenever and wherever they can, this question will not appear worth the answering. But we are supposing the case of churchmen, who may be imagined, as churchmen, to have realized to themselves that many things which are absolutely and in themselves good, are not therefore relatively such; and that, given the postulate that we are churchmen, acknowledging to some kind of rules in spiritual things, it *is* a question worth asking—What is the effect of such and such an ordinance, superadded to those which the Church provides, or which the personal needs of the soul suggest? Are we sure we can so superadd it, as not to injure those acknowledged departments of spiritual things? as not to act on the one hand in the conventicle spirit which sets aside the Church, nor on the other to abate in ourselves or others the sense of single personal responsibility before God? And we know that, in point of fact, the household rite is in many quarters avowedly substituted for that which the Church prescribes. We shall not stop to prove that this, at any rate, cannot be right. Whatever household service is, church service it is not, nor has any claim to be used as a substitute for it.

But an attempt has been made, to which Dr. Hook’s name gave considerable currency some years since, to adapt the church services to household purposes, by the simple process of paring them down to the requirements, in point of length, of the household. But this, too, is surely most unsatisfactory. It proceeds upon total ignorance, or disregard, of the structure of our Daily Office as a whole. It pays a very ill-conceived, however well-meant, homage to the Church; snatching a few of her tools at random to build up some sort of spiritual edifice or other,—what, it appears not. All that it can claim to do, is to imitate, in a mechanical sort of way, the gestures of our spiritual Mother. Surely a distinct service, having some aim of its own, and not feebly aping hers, were more desirable; more really dutiful, though with less appearance of it. But more than this may justly be said of this plan; it is not a poor imitation, merely, of the Church services, but an unfilial mutilation of them. Moreover, it cedes the whole position of churchmanship,

as far as regards the Daily Office. It systematically abandons, on behalf of all the members of a whole household, all allegiance to the Church's earnest desire for her children, that they should hold communion with her, and with her Divine Head, through her proper forms and symbols. It *says*.—what no other household service, whatever it may intend, does say,—‘We of this household give up the Church service, in its totality, as impracticable or undesirable.’ In a priest's house especially, an humiliating confession is hereby made, that his clerical vow is not kept. But the particular point of our complaint just now is that, after all, nothing definite in the way of a result is obtained. After thus imitating, or mutilating, and in reality obstructing the Church's proper action, what have you gained? You have not performed any such act of communion with the Church as is involved in the use of the entire office; for a mere cento from it cannot claim to be any true representation of its spirit: and yet you have added nothing to her spiritual work, dealt with no department of the soul's needs which is less cared for in her services; for you have but taken her words out of her mouth. We cannot, then, bestow any commendation on this expedient, nor do otherwise than heartily wish that it might be given up, wherever it has been adopted. Let those who, happily, have enough of a dutiful spirit towards the Church to desire her offices, and yet have not the opportunity of attending them in public, use them entire, and as a distinct thing from household worship. If (which we are unwilling to suppose) they are not prepared for the effort and sacrifice of time which this would involve, then we would earnestly counsel their ceasing, at any rate, to apply a mutilation of the Church's service to a purpose which it was never intended to answer. Far better, in our humble judgment, let the Church work out her own high aims in her own ‘more excellent way,’ and themselves adopt a humbler and less pretentious, but more appropriate line of service.

To what quarter they are to look for forms for this purpose, we acknowledge to be a difficulty. Yet thus much we will say for the forms which have prevailed among us from Archbishop Cranmer to Archbishop Sumner, and from Becon to Bean and Blomfield, that, with all their defects, of which we shall say somewhat presently, they have yet got hold of a true notion, however ill carried out—viz. that household prayers should have a character of their own, distinguishing them from the Church's prayers. The misfortune is, that they are not merely thus distinguished from hers in character, for this none will deny, but also divergent and diverse from them in temper and tone, in the type after which they are cast, and also, too frequently, in doctrine. Prolix and Presbyterian in outward garb, rejecting all those gentle devices which the Church makes

use of to catch and occupy the wandering thought;—the alternation of responses, the recurrence of amens, the joint occupation of psalms, the warmth of hymns, the posture varying with the matter, be it of praise or penitence, of profession or confession,—rejecting all these, the sleepy stream of service, if service it can be called, rambles on, without order or notice, from topic to topic: and being besides regardless alike of days and doctrines, it tends to induce, we fear with too fatal effect, a most Lethæan six days' oblivion of the Church's temper and ways, not to say of her existence. And with all this there is a want of purpose in the whole; 'the more part know not wherefore they are come together.' The more earnest parts of these prayers, it must often strike observant persons, are such as would better befit private devotion; and we have our suspicions that 'family prayer' not unfrequently serves as a substitute for this, and as a pretext for neglecting it.

Others, again, justly conceiving that the traditions of our own branch of the Western Church have in many things been unduly disregarded, have adapted parts of the Hour Services to household worship: thus making it supplemental to the public daily offices of the Church. This plan, or suggestion, is deserving of respectful consideration. But plausible and pleasing as is the idea, at first sight, of the household's supplying, as well as it can, such gaps as we may conceive the Church to have left in the perfect round of praise, yet it must be borne in mind that the real question is not so much what a household or a household service may be set doing, as what it has a capacity and a commission to do. And this scheme has, it must be confessed, more the appearance of having invented a *quoi-à-faire* for the household, than of having found out what its real business is. No one will pretend that this is a *satisfactory* mode of enlarging the Church's ritual scheme: it is confessedly but a make-shift for that purpose at the best. Were it not better, then, to await an authoritative reorganization, if such be needed, of this department of the Church's ritual function? We hope to show, too, as we proceed, that even on mediæval and traditionary principles, it is more reasonable to look to another quarter than the ancient public Hour Services for the supply of the need now under our consideration.

We thankfully acknowledge, however, that manuals for household use have lately appeared, which are free from most of the positive objections which lie against such forms as we have as yet noticed. In these there is no want of carefulness to adopt church-like ways; there is variety of contents; use of responsive forms, and of change of posture; well ordered provision for the various departments of worship; some regard to the more prominent differences of days; and the like: while at the same

time the Church's province of public ritual is left untouched. Of this kind, are Mr. Bowdler's 'Prayers for a Christian's Household,' and Mr. Perceval Ward's 'Family Offices.' The following remarks of Mr. Bowdler's are worthy of attention:—

'It seems desirable that family worship should not interfere with the daily service of the Church, or be regarded as a substitute for it, or be a repetition of the same, where any of the members of a household have the privilege of public worship. And where such opportunity is not offered, and the head of a family desires to supply the want by the use of these, they had better, perhaps, be used entire; as may be done at any time out of the book of Common Prayer. . . .

'It is the privilege of our Church, together with her sister churches in Scotland and America, to have retained that reverence for ancient forms and usages which has secured to it the possession of all that is essential in its constitution, and been a safeguard against invasion and corruption, both in doctrine and in the offices of prayer and praise in the congregation. In everything we are taught to look upwards, and to seek the truth at the fountain head and in the streams which flowed immediately from it. From the earliest Liturgies our own forms of worship are derived; those parts being omitted which are manifestly interpolated by later hands, or which a watchful caution fears to adopt, lest some error which has grown up in later days be engrafted upon them.

'In one instance, the compilers of our Liturgy have written above a prayer the name of the holy Father to whom it is ascribed, "The prayer of S. Chrysostom." The same might have been done in many instances. Here then we have a rule and pattern to be followed in preparing any forms of prayer; namely, that the several parts be taken from Scripture and from the ancient Liturgies. This will be a pledge for truth of doctrine, and purity in doctrine, and it will prescribe congregational services, in which each member may take a part, in preference to one long prayer delivered by an individual, and assented to rather than joined in by the rest. The frequent use of versicles, responses, and interlocutory petitions, is one feature in the ancient forms which fits them for domestic use; and to this may be added, as characteristic of the piety of the early age, large and copious intercession, thanksgiving, and praise, and continual ascribing of glory to God at the close of each prayer, which has occasioned a remark, that the more concise conclusion which is usual with us has arisen from the older form being cut short by copyists, and left to be concluded in the usual manner.'—*Pref.* pp. vii—x.

All that seems needed of improvement upon these manuals, in order to make them as satisfactory as any self-chosen forms can ever be, is, first, a more defined conception of the purpose to be answered towards the household by the use of joint worship,—a conception tending, of course, to give a certain shaping to the offices; and, secondly, a tolerably well-founded sense of some degree of commission from the Church to discharge that function. For want of these an uneasy apprehension must arise from time to time, as to the expediency or the drift of what we are doing, even with the best forms. In proportion as such offices are full and Church-like in conception, we seem to crave some authorization for them; at least, as to the practice in general, if not as to the form itself. However carefully we may have forborne to

arrogate to the household rite any of the high functions of the Church's public service, we cannot but fear, sometimes, lest we should be pre-occupying and over-laying, by unauthorized methods of supply, those spiritual energies which ought to be spent rather on what the Church has provided as their proper object.

So that it comes to this after all, that household service has the appearance, even when best performed, of having no province of things of its own to attend to—the secret, we doubt not, of the lack of point and heart which is almost universally felt to belong to it: while it is, as a consequence, more or less in danger of trenching on what certainly is not its own province. Hence the temptation, (no very unnatural one on this view of the case,) to be content to do without it. Could we, however, satisfy ourselves that there is any distinct work which the Church has tacitly or explicitly assigned to this ordinance, which it is capable of discharging, and which is not done in its fulness in any other way, then we shall be furnished with a sufficient reason, at any rate, for retaining the practice; and it can hardly be but we shall gather from the same quarter valuable hints, if no more, as to the manner of going about it. We do not say that the whole difficulty will be removed. So long as the *forms* of service and worship are of our own choosing, we confess to serious doubts whether it is possible for any private person altogether to satisfy himself by the choice he makes of a service for his own household. The only thorough remedy and solution for the difficulty would be a provision by the Church as such for this purpose. Such a provision would of course require all the wisdom and discretion she could summon to her aid, in order to adjust it to the rest of her system, and to her children's other needs; but we may not doubt that such gifts would be hers for the purpose. And to the individual the rule would be a boon, thankfully accepted, and acted on without misgiving.

There are those, however, who are disposed to question altogether the real existence, in the eye of the Church, of any such thing as household worship. They deem it a mere device of these latter times, to supply the desuetude or paucity of the Church's public services. In their view, therefore, it would be a mistake for the Church to give substance to this shadow by any provision or legislation about it. In this view we cannot acquiesce. The allegation, however, lies at the root of the whole matter; ἀρχὴ μὲν γὰρ τὸ ὅτι, as Aristotle says. If the thing we are speaking of exists but on sufferance, and vanishes before the retrenching hand of sound Church revival, there is an end of the matter: it is to no purpose to be seeking for a sound theory of that which is in itself a viewless *nihil*. We will address ourselves, therefore, in the first instance, to this point, and endeavour to

show that the constitution of the Church, rightly apprehended, does not so ignore, as is alleged, the idea of household service; that, on the contrary, the instinctive impression under which inquiry is so universally made after satisfactory forms for the performance of it, has a foundation and a countenance in the mind of the Church herself. Our investigation of this point will at the same time best educe an answer to the inquiry we set out with, as to the special functions allotted to household worship.

We conceive, then, that there is a strong presumption, derivable from the apostolical Scriptures, for the existence of such a practice in the apostolical times; that an indication of its prevalence, as an habitual thing, in the first ages of the Church, may be traced in early ecclesiastical writings; and that an implicit recognition of it lies deeply imbedded in the ancient and unchanged system of our own branch of the Western Church.

Paradoxical as the assertion may seem, the very faintness with which, comparatively speaking, the outlines of this ordinance are traced upon the Church's system, is the highest testimony to the indefeasible propriety, and even necessity of it. We may apply here what was said by the ancient lawgiver, when asked why he had not provided a law against parricide—viz. that he had not dreamt of the possibility of such an outrage upon nature. In like manner, there is nothing unreasonable in assigning as a reason for the slight and incidental kind of proof which can be adduced on the subject before us, that the matter was taken for granted, and so had little occasion to be legislated upon, or even spoken about. It is a parallel case to that of infant baptism, or the observance of the first day of the week. The truth is, that the household is in its own proper nature, and much more as renewed by grace, a sacred thing. The lares and penates of pagan, and the teraphim of patriarchal times, shadowed forth a great truth; viz., that the household, as such, has a sanctification peculiar to it, an aspect Godward and heavenward, of its own. What could it else, considering the purely divine origination of it? The household is no casual thing, no merely incidental association of persons. It is the divinely-ordained instrument for the nurture, as well as the continuance, under holy sanctions, of the human race; the nurture, not merely of those newly added to the race, though of these chiefly, but also of others. 'HE setteth the solitary in families,' whose ordinance marriage is. 'Did he not make [of twain] one? And wherefore one? That he might seek a godly seed.' (Ps. lxxviii. 6, Mal. ii. 15.) The marriage bond, having regard, primarily, to the bringing up of children 'in the fear and nurture of the Lord;' yet also, and in no mean degree, to the mutual society, help, and comfort, and so to the Christian converse of those who have

this work committed to them, gathers about it, by something like a natural necessity, the more casual companionship and service of others besides. To those two primary relations, the parental and conjugal, is thus added a third, for which we seem to lack a name,—the Latins called it the *herile* relation,—that of master and servant; and thus is completed the idea of the household. Into the household are thus gathered in type,—and surely in a wonderful and admirable manner,—all the relations that can possibly subsist between the members of the human race. The equal relation of the married to each other is the most perfect type of all friendship and mutual dependence;—the unequal (the parental and filial), of all God-ordained government;—the casual (that of master and servant), of all factitious associations, as between employer and employed, master and scholar, *patronus* and client. Somewhat to the same effect is Olshausen's observation on Eph. v.:—‘This treatise on marriage is the leading passage on this important institution, which includes in equal measure the elements of church and state.’ When to this we add the extraordinary honour which has been put upon ‘the household,’ by its having been consecrated, both as a whole and in all its parts, to express the relations between God and regenerate man,—our estimate of the mysterious dignity attaching to it, and of its consequent fitness for the discharge of a religious function, must surely rise to the highest pitch. ‘Now, therefore, ye are no more strangers and pilgrims, but . . . of the household of God.’ (Comp. Heb. iii. 3.) ‘Being made free from sin, and become servants to God.’ ‘Now, therefore, thou art no more servant, but a son.’ ‘Christ did love His Spouse, the Church.’ Accordingly, when S. Paul would at once exhaust, in type at least, the possible relations of men, and also recognise them as ennobled by being taken up into Christ, he names no other than those of husbands and wives, parents and children, masters and servants. (Eph. v. 22, 25; vi. 1, 4, and 5; 9.) Either member of each *συνζυγία*, or pair, has its duty assigned to it, and a consecrated ground alleged for it. ‘Wives, submit yourselves to your own husbands, as unto the Lord: for the husband is the head of the wife, even as Christ is the head of the church.’ ‘Husbands, love your wives, even as Christ also loved the church.’ ‘Children, obey your parents in the Lord:’ ‘Fathers, bring them up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord.’ ‘Servants, be obedient to your masters, as unto Christ,—as the servants of Christ:’ ‘Masters, do the same things unto them, knowing that your Master also is in heaven.’

That S. Paul, in these passages is not selecting human relations at random, but had an eye to the Christian household, as summing up all relations within itself, is the more probable from

the systematic character of this Epistle, and from the perfectly harmonious arrangement, according to this view, of its imagery. In chap. ii., as quoted just now, the church is set forth as God's household: in chaps. iii.—v. the personal duties common to all are unfolded; and in v. 22—vi., those which are proper to the several component relations.

Nor is this by any means an isolated occasion, on which S. Paul is accidentally led to view the body of the faithful as resolving itself, so to speak, into its primary household groups. The view is habitual to him. His converts, alike in Rome or Corinth as in Ephesus, are present to his eye not less as households than as individuals. The household has in his thoughts a unity, a sort of personality and separate consciousness, a capability of spiritual advance or retardation: it is a thing which to a certain extent 'moveth altogether, if it move at all.' As households, and by households, the faithful are commended, blessed, saluted. 'Ye know the house of Stephanas, that they have addicted themselves to the ministry of the saints:' 'The Lord have mercy on the house of Onesiphorus:' 'Salute them which are of Aristobulus' household.' Nay,—which is more especially to our present purpose,—households are dignified with the style of 'churches;' thus we have salutations to and from 'the church which is in the house' of Priscilla and Aquila; and the so-called Epistle to Philemon is in reality an Epistle to the 'church which was in Philemon's house' (ver. 2). That this means the household circle of the persons spoken of, with any such occasional additions as the fame and eloquence of an Aquila, or the piety and hospitality of a Philemon, might draw within its sphere,—not the regular Christian congregation of the place, customarily assembling at the houses of such persons,—is admitted even by Neander (Hist. i. 396), and also appears clearly from hence, that the Epistles to Rome and Corinth expressly distinguish this *μικροκκλησία* from the community as a whole; while the Epistle to Philemon's household-church was accompanied by one to the entire church of Colossæ, where he lived. And it tends further to stamp the domestic character of the 'church in the house,' that in both cases a husband and wife are mentioned as the head of the little community, viz. Aquila and Priscilla; Philemon, and (as is generally believed) his wife, Apphia. And this was but the natural result of another interesting circumstance bearing upon our subject, which is, that converts, to some extent, seem to have come in by families. The first-fruits of Europe to Christ were the *households* of Lydia and the jailer of Philippi; of Achaia, the household of Stephanas; all these were baptized, in households, by S. Paul himself. (Acts xvi.; 1 Cor. i. 16.)

Now all this is precisely what might *à priori* have been

expected on a due consideration of what 'the rock' was whence the Church was 'hewn;' that it was developed, namely, by an easy transition, out of the existing Jewish state of things. We are apt to distinguish, and truly in some respects, between the Patriarchal dispensation and the Mosaic. Yet the Mosaic institution itself was, in its whole existence and polity, intensely patriarchal, or, which is the same thing, domestic. 'Abraham their father, and Sarah that bare them,' were to be repeated ten thousand times over in the heads of families of Israel. Nor only so, but recognition of the household and its elements, the most impressive and solemn that can be conceived, enters largely into the awfully-sanctioned Decalogue itself. It might have been looked for, perhaps, that with the institution of a new polity and priesthood at the Exodus, would come new injunctions expressly providing for due honour and observance being paid to those institutions by the people. But on the contrary, the allusions in the Ten Commandments are to household relations throughout. The classification of the people of God is not into priest and people, ruler and subject, great and small; the command runs, 'Thou and thy son and thy daughter, thy manservant and thy maidservant;' 'Honour thy father and thy mother;' 'thy neighbour's house, thy neighbour's wife;'—the self-same elements, making up the self-same unit, which S. Paul, 1500 years later, considers as the primary ones of the whole Christian body. It may be added, that the tenth commandment, which otherwise seems all but superfluous, the particulars of it being virtually contained in the seventh and eighth, seems best accounted for by considering it as a special expression of the Divine care for the honour and integrity of the household as a whole. It was not enough to forbid the acts by which 'the holy bounds of property' and of marriage are invaded; the household condition and circumstances of each man were, it is implied, a matter of such especial Divine ordering, that the very wish to have them otherwise than as ordained was such a separate offence against the Divine will as to be worthy of a separate prohibition. Thus were all the great duties of the human condition, under the Mosaic institution, left, by the express provision of Almighty God himself, in the keeping of the household, and the whole fenced around by a special *ἐπεὶ* of protection. There was to be the nursery and seed-plot of all dutiful relations to God or man, to ruler or priest. It is in perfect accordance with this that the religious instruction of the successive generations of Israel is committed, in the first instance, by express command, to the fathers of families (Deut. vi. 20; xi. 19); though it seems probable that the youths were afterwards sent to the priests, Levites, and sons of the prophets, for fuller teaching. There was no change in this respect, since

the days when Abraham was commended, as one who 'would command his children and his household after him, that they might keep the way of the Lord.' A simple creed and a single command had been given to Abraham, 'I am the Almighty God; walk before me, and be thou perfect.' A scarcely less simple creed,—enlarged, indeed, by but a single article,—was given now; 'I am the Lord thy God, who brought thee out of the land of Egypt:' while the commandment was greatly expanded and reduced to detail. But creed and commandments alike were placed still, to the extent which we have mentioned, in the ark, as it were, of the household; and very interesting indications are to be found in other Mosaic laws, and in the subsequent history, of the household, as such, having an important religious part assigned to it; of its head being a sort of priest to it, and even (according to a probable view of a curious passage in Scripture,) of its having had, from very early times, a customary ritual of some solemnity. Thus all the great festivals were, by especial direction, to be attended by the people in households. 'Thither' (to the tabernacle or temple) 'shall ye bring your burnt-offerings, and there shall ye eat before the Lord your God, and rejoice . . . ye and your households.' (Deut. xii.) Thus, too, even the solemn Passover itself was, in an especial degree, as to the main rites and actions of it, a household matter. The congregation were 'to take to them every man a lamb, a lamb for a house;' only, in case the household was very small, they might add other persons to it. By the master of the house, (so the Talmud with probability represents,) the lamb was slain before the altar; the blood being perhaps,—though even this is uncertain,—sprinkled by the priests upon the altar-foot. All the rest of the ceremony, so pregnant with the most sacred mysteries, was performed by the master; such as the 'showing forth' or recounting of God's mercies, the solemn blessing, and as it were offering, of the lamb, the bread and wine. On these actions, of course, it was that our Lord's awful 'taking,' 'blessing,' and 'breaking' of the elements, and the presenting and giving of Himself, first to God the Father as a Sacrifice, and then to the disciples as a Feast, were founded. The forms of blessing used at the Passover have been preserved by the Talmudists; correctly, as it should seem, since the words of our Lord at and about the institution of the Eucharist, seem based upon them. Thus, at the first cup, the master said, 'Blessed be Thou, O God, for this good day and holy convocation, Who hast sanctified Israel and the times;'—and again, at the washing of the hands, 'Who hast sanctified us with Thy commandments;' 'Who hast sanctified us and commanded as concerning the eating of unleavened bread;' and, at the eating of the flesh of the peace-offerings, 'Who hast sanctified us by Thy command, concerning the eating of the flesh;'

and, lastly, 'Who hast sanctified us concerning the eating of the Passover.' Compare with this the words of our Lord after He had presented both Himself to the Father, and His Apostolic Church as sanctified in Him, and had given Himself to them as the true Passover, the true bread and wine, and peace-offering; 'Sanctify them through thy truth . . . (comp. ver. 6, 'They have kept thy word') . . . For their sakes do I sanctify myself, that they also may be sanctified through thy truth.'

So important and quasi-sacerdotal were the actions performed by the heads of families at the Passover. And it is worth remarking, how wonderful a provision was herein made for the easy and natural passing of the shadow into the substance, as far as regards the ministering and celebrating persons under the new dispensation. The first Christian Priests (*πρεσβύτεροι*) were, as the name implies, chosen for their age, or rather for their union in their persons of age and authority: is it not infinitely probable that, as a general rule, these were the heads of families, the veritable 'Elders' of the house of Israel according to the flesh? ¹ And if so, how admirable the training for the celebration of the true Eucharist, which their position, as masters of families, and celebrants as such of the typical Eucharist, the Passover, had given them. Our Lord himself, indeed, performed His great Priestly Action, of giving himself for the life of the world, in the guise of a Jewish householder, the Apostles taking the place of members of the household; thus fulfilling, with exquisite fidelity, various parabolic representations he had given of the kingdom of heaven; besides incidental expressions, such as, "If they have called the Master of the house Beelzebub, how much more them of his household." It is needless to remark what dignity is hence reflected back upon the Jewish household relations.

The view to which we just now adverted, that the Christian presbyters, in Apostolic times, were, as a general rule, taken from among the heads of families, receives considerable confirmation

¹ This view, that the Apostolic clergy were not first made 'Elders' by being ordained to a spiritual charge, but were such already, and preferred for the priesthood partly on that account, will explain an apparent incongruity in the 1st Epistle to Timothy. The priesthood, as such, having been dealt with in chap. iii, it is somewhat unexpected to find in so regularly constructed an Epistle (v. Fell's preface) fresh instructions about 'elders,' in chap. v., if 'elders' and 'overseers,' are perfectly convertible terms. But let 'elders' be here applied in general to all bearing household rule, only specially (v. 17) to such of them as had spiritual charge likewise, and all is harmonious. Chap. v. is then what its position in the Epistle (compare the order in Ephesians) leads us to expect, viz. a code of instructions to the body of the faithful, under their several characters of senior and junior members of households, male or female. Thus ver. 17, otherwise puzzling, is perfectly intelligible, 'Let the elders that rule (their own households, *προεστώτες*, as in iii. 5.) well, be accounted worthy of double honour; especially they (the ordained ones) who labour in the word and doctrine.'

from the uniform tenor of S. Paul's instructions to Timothy (1 Tim. iii.) and Titus (chap. i.), as to the choice of ἐπίσκοποι or priests. For it is there assumed that the presbyter will in general have wife and children, and be a householder. These passages have, of course, been much appealed to in the discussions between rival communions, as to the marriage of the clergy. That marriage was not a disqualification for the priesthood in Apostolic days, they certainly prove. But do they also prove,—as it has been contended, not without some show of reason, that they do,—a deliberate preference, not to say stipulation and requirement, by S. Paul, that the clergy should be married men? If the view we speak of is correct, that the antecedents (to use a modern phrase) of the Jewish householder were such as to furnish a singularly apposite training for the functions of Christian priesthood, and especially for the highest of them all, then S. Paul's words rather describe a fact, than express a judgment. There were reasons then existing, for choosing married men and householders for the priesthood. A domestic priesthood, of a very solemn kind in one particular, and intensified as to its ordinary action by the distance of most families from the centre of national worship, invested the householder of the Mosaic type. These reasons, then, were to a great extent peculiar to the period of transition from Judaism to Christianity. Never again would the householder, as such, be divinely commissioned and instructed to enact in his own person such a high, typical, and priest-like part, as that which the Passover assigned to him. Whatever other reasons might continue in force for preferring a married clergy, this one would soon pass away. There would still be the experience in ruling which a household gives; but against this, at least for particular posts and departments of ministerial duty, might fairly be set the advantage of being 'without carefulness.' And such, we may conceive, would have been S. Paul's judgment on this question, considered as a question for the Church of all ages. It is remarkable, however, that the Greek Church, with characteristic tenacity of Apostolic ways, has stereotyped, for the mass of her clergy, the state of things, howsoever it arose, to which S. Paul's words refer. The clergy, as a general rule, *must be householders*—must be married men—before ordination. This is the undeviating rule for parish priests—doubtless on the grounds touched upon by S. Paul, of the connexion between the ordering of a household, and of the Church. In short, we may reckon the Orientals among those who construe S. Paul's words as a rule, only that they restrict that rule, as the Apostle seems to suggest, to such as have parochial cure. They have sometimes even gone so far as to ordain that a priest who had lost

his wife could no longer continue in the charge of a parish. This prohibition was in force in the province of Moscow, from about 1467 to 1667.¹ But this by the way. We may fairly take the oriental practice as a confirmation of our view, that of householders, in Apostolic times, Christian priests were for the most part made; and for this a very chief reason may well have been, the paschal functions which devolved upon the former. It is moreover a curious fact,² and much to our present purposes, that in the Greek Church domestic oratories are allowed, *but only during the life of the owner of the house*, on whose death all their furniture belongs to the parish Church. Here is at once a recognition, probably traditional, of household service, and a strong indication either of a quasi-priesthood attaching to the master, or of an abuse respecting 'widows' houses' to be noticed presently; perhaps of both.

But in other more ordinary and daily recurring respects, too, the Jewish householder was a priest over his own household. David, returning from the bringing up of the ark from the house of Obed-Edom to his own city, and rich with fulness of blessing invoked by his burnt-offerings and peace-offerings on that occasion, returns 'to bless his household.' Boaz, no priest, but a householder of the tribe of Judah, takes into his mouth the solemn words of sacerdotal benediction which the Christian ritual afterwards adopted from the Jewish, 'The Lord be with you:' and the reapers take up their reverent response, as those who owned in their master one who had a 'commandment to bless,' and were used to take their part in household ceremonial, 'The Lord bless thee.' But there is one passage of early Israelitish story, in which, as we have said, something like a household ritual, established and recognised, or, however, not disallowed, may be discerned; at least, according to a plausible view of it which has been propounded. For the correctness of that view we do not vouch; but as the treatise in which it was put forth is little known, and contains much learned and ingenious matter in proof of its point, we cannot forbear giving some account of a speculation so germane, if correct, to our present subject. The Rev. W. Coleridge, then, Vicar of Ottery St. Mary in the middle of the last century, an ancestor of the present well-known family, published a small volume of *Dissertations on Judges*, xvii. xviii., in proof that *proseuchæ* or oratories for a species of household worship existed, and were allowed, as early as the times of the earlier Judges. The strange and (viewing it according to the common acceptation) unpleas-

¹ Neale, *Introd. to Hist. of Eastern Church*, p. 1188.

² *Ibid.* p. 1187, on the authority of the Rev. R. Blackmore.

ing, though characteristic and picturesque story of Micah and his 'house of gods,' which has caused his name to pass into a proverb with that of Jeroboam the son of Nebat, wears according to this theory an innocent and even commendable aspect. The quasi-altar, (rendered 'graven image' in our version,) the images or teraphim, the ephod for the officiating person, and other things bearing a resemblance to the tabernacle equipments, were no invention of Micah's, but the customary furniture of the household oratory, and, however liable to abuse, were designed merely as an acknowledgment that all worship centered in the tabernacle where the realities were to be found. Micah at first appointed one of his sons (ver. 5), to officiate in this domestic sanctuary, but was afterwards glad to obtain the services of a Levite. Now oratories of this kind, and equipped in this way, are described by Philo as existing in Egypt at the Christian era. Mr. Coleridge's view then is, that worship of this domestic kind was practised during the whole period intervening between these two epochs: that to these oratories allusion is made in the Psalms, 'Thus have they burnt up all the houses of God in the land,'—where Hengstenberg in vain endeavours to restrict the allusion to the one temple or tabernacle. Thus far Mr. Coleridge. And it is certainly to be allowed, that Micah seems to have been unconscious of any peculiarity in having this oratory with its furniture: his words, 'Now know I that the Lord will do me good, seeing that I have a Levite to my priest,' are to all appearance those of one who 'feared God and honoured the priest.' The LXX., further, distinctly countenances the more favourable view of Micah's proceedings. Instead of, 'the man Micah had a house of gods,' it reads, 'Now Micah's house was a house of God.' That it was not altogether unusual to have regular arrangements for some kind of household ritual appears perhaps from chap. xviii. ver. 19. 'Is it better for thee to be a priest unto the house of one man, than,' &c. And the testimony from Philo is singularly to the purpose, because it seems to show that the use of such mere memorials as Micah's teraphim, &c. were not held to be unlawful even after the captivity, and therefore were *not* unlawful; for it is universally agreed that the Jews during that period continued free from all taint of idolatry. It is remarkable too, and is not easily explained on any other hypothesis than that of the legality of Micah's worship, that the prophet Hosea (iii. 4.) denounces it as a woe and a misfortune against Israel, that they 'should abide many days without an image' (the word we have just rendered quasi-altar), 'and without an ephod, and without teraphim:' the very articles of Micah's sacred furniture. However, let all this go for what it is worth:

we are content to take our stand upon the general fact of a quasi-priesthood having been borne by Jewish heads of families.

That this state of things continued unimpaired down to our Lord's time, one or two proofs or indications may be alleged. Thus, the custom of the master's invoking a blessing before and after meals is testified to by the Talmudists, and fully confirmed by the practice of our Lord and of S. Paul (Acts xxvii.). The words used, according to them, were, 'Blessed be thou, O Lord our God, the King of the world, who hast brought forth this food and drink from the earth, (or the vine).' The existence of household worship of a more general and prolonged kind may be indicated by the woe against the Pharisees, 'who devour widows' houses, and for a pretence make long prayers.' For the most natural interpretation of these words is, that Pharisees, having a repute for sanctity, got themselves admitted to conduct the household worship of widows, on the plea of the natural head of the household having been removed by death; and obtaining entrance on this pretext, lived at the expense of the widows. An instance of this sort of adoption, by a widow, two or three centuries later, of a person making claims to great spirituality, and of his conducting some sort of service in the household accordingly, will be given presently; and a law of the Greek Church, which we have already quoted, seems to be levelled at this particular abuse. The common interpretation of the passage in S. Matthew, viz. that the Pharisees refused to hear the widows' complaints, on pretence of devotional engagements, surely gives no adequate account of the strong expression, 'who devour widows' houses.' But the most satisfactory proof that, in the current conception of the Jews of that day, some kind of priesthood, and, therefore, some kind of ritual duties appertained to the household, is to be found in the circumstance, that S. Paul, in the Epistle to the Hebrews, appeals to this as an admitted fact, and makes it the basis, by way of analogy and parallel, of the Priesthood which he claims for our Lord. 'Christ glorified not Himself to be made an High Priest, but He that said unto Him, Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee.' What pertinency could this quotation have had, unless it was a commonly admitted axiom with those to whom S. Paul wrote, that sonship, with primogeniture, of itself conferred a title to priesthood of some kind? Such a son, (as being the prospective head of the household,) *was* in prospect its priest, if we admit the supposition we speak of, but not otherwise. And that S. Paul means this seems certain, because he had already applied to Christ the title of 'a Son over his own house,' and that too immediately after he had first announced His priesthood. 'Wherefore, con-

'sider the . . . High Priest of our profession, . . . faithful . . . as 'a son over his own house.' And elsewhere, in the course of the same Epistle, he again and again places Christ's Sonship in most significant connexion with his Priesthood; not so much His eternal Sonship as God, as the Sonship which was confirmed to Him, together with all power in heaven and earth, in respect of His manhood. It is again and again clearly conveyed, that the fact of His standing, even as man, in a pre-eminent relation of Sonship to God, was the very basis of His Priesthood towards mankind; that but for this,—but for His being thus the Head Member, the veritable Eldest Brother, of the human family,—He had lacked those qualities and that position, which both fitted Him to be, and in some sort constituted Him as a matter of course, their Priest. That 'He that sanctified and they that 'were to be sanctified' should be 'all of one' kin, was a necessity to which He graciously submitted; 'it behoved Him to be 'made like unto His brethren, that He might be a merciful and 'faithful High Priest.' It was a rule admitting of no exception, that a 'high priest should be taken from among men.' (v. 1.) And by preparations applied to the human nature of such persons must they be consecrated for their office (compare the application of blood to the various parts of the body, in order to consecrate Aaron and his sons, Numb. viii. 24). Christ, accordingly, 'in the days of His flesh, though He were a Son,' a true human Son of God, 'yet learned obedience by suffering;' and being thus 'made perfect,' (τελειωθεῖς, consecrated,) 'was called of God an High Priest.' (Heb. v. 7—10.) 'The law maketh' ordinary 'men high priests, but the word of the oath maketh the Son,' the perfect and representative member of the race, 'who is consecrated' (or perfected,—made victorious over all infirmity in the course of his consecratory sufferings,) 'for evermore.' It is surely most curiously illustrative of all this, to place by the side of it what is said of Micah, Judg. xvii. 5. 'And the man 'Micah had a house of God (so the LXX.), and consecrated one 'of his sons, and he became his priest;' and again, 'And the young 'man was unto him as one of his sons; and Micah consecrated the 'Levite, and the young man became his priest.' It was perhaps usual among the Jews, or not very unusual, to invest the eldest son, on arriving at his majority, with the headship of the family in religious matters.

We have seen, then, what was the aspect which the 'household' wore under the older dispensation. How far Christianity would innovate upon, or modify the position which it thus enjoyed, could not *à priori* have been predicated. Conceivably, it might have done away, to any extent, with the 'household' view of things; and to a certain extent it did so. As it

obliterated altogether the lines of *national* demarcation in religious matters, making men in this respect one *πατριά*, so did it divest the great rites and high solemnities of the New Covenant of that domestic character which was, as we have seen, of the very essence of the Passover; and which belonged, more or less, to all the great Mosaic festivals. The quasi-priesthood, appertaining to the householder, in respect of the Paschal solemnities, was lifted into a higher sphere; the more awful functions of veritable celebration of the accomplished mysteries could be entrusted to nothing short of apostolically ordained and empowered persons. The power to bless, to the high purposes of Christian cleansing and growth in grace, was also fenced in more jealously than ever, within a holier *ἔρκος* than that of the household. And, conceivably, we repeat, this process might have been carried out to the uttermost; it might have been intended that the household idea, the religious responsibility and importance of the household, should vanish altogether. As to whether it was so or not, the appeal must be made to fact,—to the fact of apostolic instructions and mode of dealing with the Christian body. And we have seen that there was not, under the Christian, as there had not been under the Mosaic either, a breaking up and fusing of the household condition and relations under the general notion of Christianity. On the contrary, the *religiousness* of household relations is as clearly declared in the fifth chapter to the Ephesians as in the twentieth chapter of Exodus. The interests committed to the keeping of the household are to the full as important in the one case as in the other. The only difference is that the solemnity of the relations is enhanced, by its being strongly insisted on that each one—the parental,—the conjugal,—the herile,—is lifted out of the sphere of nature into that of grace, has become the vessel of a Christian mystery, and is to be carried out henceforth, in each case, ‘unto the Lord.’ The same kind of duties, only with new sanctions, appear to fall to the household, as of old. Whatever the Church’s completed economy may do for men, one thing it does not: it changes not, for the generality, the field and sphere of their moral and religious formation. The household is still, as of old, the nursery and the gymnasium of the humanities, the charities, and the loyalties of our nature. It is something to have realized this: to have got a clear and settled apprehension, that the household *οἰκονομία* has, by virtue of unrepealed Divine law, interests entrusted to it, and a charge imposed upon it.

Thus far then of household religion, as distinguished from household religious ordinances; of a reverend and quasi-sacred character, belonging to the family: the existence of anything like

a ritual for it being a further point, as yet unproved and untouched. For we do not profess to have established by what we have hitherto adduced from the New Testament, more than this, that, in the mind of S. Paul and of the Holy dictating Spirit, a high degree of ethical and spiritual importance attached to the household as such, and to its several relations. Thus much, however, even what we have already alleged does seem fairly to prove. It also generates further a most reasonable presumption, to say the least, that this sacred character would have as its expression and remembrancer, as the means of cherishing and maintaining it, and as the bond of the entire little polity, some kind of devotional practice or other. That such actually was the case has yet to be shown.

There is, indeed, some difficulty in conceiving how the careful religious nurture and the high christian temper implied in what S. Paul says *to* the household and *about* it, could well be maintained without some special intercommunion in sacred things between its several members. In particular, considering its wholeness in the Apostolic view,—its capacity, as a whole, of spiritual growth and decay,—of being as a whole blest or unblest, acceptable to God or unacceptable,—we seem to crave, for the satisfaction of our conceptions about it, some ways of gathering up its spiritual aspects into religious action, and presenting them before God; some shrine of its own (how humble soever, however duly mindful of and subordinated to the Church's own proper ritual) for presenting before God those—

‘Records sweet of duties done,
Of pardon'd foes, and cherish'd grace,’

which are the staple of the Christian household life; some lesser oratory than the Church's all-containing precincts, where we may ‘confess our faults one to another, and pray one for another that we may be healed;’ we, who by law mysterious and Divine are linked together into a little image of the true ‘household of God,’ and of ‘the city that is at unity within itself.’ If it be admitted that the household, as such, ought to be some way presented to God, then, although the acceptable presentation must ultimately be at the Church's own altar, yet the gathering together of that which is to be offered must surely take place within its own precincts. Men do not go to church in households—certainly, we may say, in Apostolic times they did not; however some may have taken their stand in the present day on the desirableness of such a practice, as the last bulwark of a certain objectionable system of Church arrangement and monopoly. Either, then, the household must be consecrated and dedicated for offering at home, or else, fit offering

though it be, this miniature ark of Christian sanctities must remain unoffered. A necessity, in a word, arises for something of household ritual, as the correlative of S. Paul's high and ennobling language concerning the household. Especial need, too, for such ritual must there have been in days of persecution and proscription of open and public worship; and such, to a great extent at least, must have been the apostolic and post-apostolic times. In such times the Christian life must have been blank indeed, if it was forbidden any interior and domestic form of devotional exercise. The touching suggestion of the poet must have been peculiarly in place then:—

'Seest thou how, tearful and alone,
And drooping like a wounded dove,
The Cross in sight, but Jesus gone,
The widow'd Church is fain to rove?
Who is at hand that loves the Lord?
Make haste, and take her home, and bring
Thine household choir, in true accord
Their soothing hymns for her to sing.
Soft on her fluttering heart shall breathe
The fragrance of that genial isle;
There she may weave her funeral wreath,
And to her own sad music smile.'

Christian Year, SS. Simon and Jude.

Nevertheless, all this may, we frankly admit, conceivably have been otherwise, for aught that we have hitherto alleged of apostolic sanction for actual household ritual. It may have been the case that no other media were provided for the accomplishment of the high ends we have indicated, than the great public acts, common to all, of Christian worship and fellowship. And it is further to be not admitted merely, but strenuously maintained, that those acts, the Holy Eucharist especially, were the highest and completest media of all union and presentation,—that in them all lower ones, supposing any such, culminated and were perfected. Yet let us not be too much in haste to conclude that nothing of a more distinct kind can be alleged from Scripture for the existence of household ritual in apostolic days.

Let it first be observed that we are already in an advantageous position for appropriating and allocating such faint or incidental hints on our subject as the Apostolical Scriptures supply. Intimations too slight in themselves to prove anything, acquire great augmentative force, now that we have ascertained the existence, in primitive times, of a framework of things into which they fit, as it were, and in which they take their places harmoniously.

Now it is not, we conceive, to be denied or dissembled, that there are passages in the Apostolical Epistles which cannot, without some violence, be accounted for on a ritual theory of such unyielding rigidity as would exclude all other than strictly Church and ritual worship from the contemplation of the sacred writers, and from the practical system of their time.

Doubtless it has been too much the fashion, until lately, to run into the opposite extreme, of seeing no allusions whatever in these writings to Church ritual, not even in such passages as 1 Tim. ii. 1, ('I exhort therefore, that, first of all, supplications, prayers, intercessions, and giving of thanks, be made for all men; for kings,' &c.), though everything conspires to fix upon that place, at least, a purely Eucharistic intention: as *e. g.* its being addressed to a Christian bishop, evidently as his 'Rubric' for arranging and conducting the high service of the Church of God (compare chap. iii. 15); its position in the forefront of this great inspired Pastoral Missive, 'I exhort therefore, *first of all*, that supplications,' &c.; the high ritual expressions *ποιεῖσθαι εὐχαριστίας*, by no means commonly used, the former of them, at any rate, of ordinary prayer, but suggestive to the Christian ear of no less than the Christian 'Offering;' and the full, careful, and *orderly* enumeration (remarked on by S. Chrysostom) of the great features which meet us in ancient Apostolic Liturgies. Other passages there are, less markedly, perhaps, but with sufficient certainty, referring to the Church's public ritual. It may suffice to mention Eph. v. 18—21. 'Be not drunk with wine, wherein is excess; but be filled with the Spirit; speaking to yourselves in psalms and hymns and spiritual songs, singing and making melody in your heart to the Lord; giving thanks always for all things unto God and the Father in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ; submitting yourselves one to another in the fear of God.' That the subject of allusion here is the Eucharist is most probable, from these considerations: from the parallel mention, in the certainly eucharistic passage, 1 Cor. xi. 17, of drunkenness and excess as an abuse standing in fearful connexion in that day with the partaking of the spiritual meat and drink of the Eucharist ('Be not drunk with wine, but be filled with the Spirit'—'one is hungry and another is drunken; . . . this is not to eat the Lord's supper'); by the close resemblance between 1 Tim. ii. 1, just quoted, and the 'offering eucharist, or eucharistic prayer, for all men' (as the words here should be rendered); by the special mention of the *εὐχαριστία* being offered to God the Father: 'a feature,' as Mr. Keble has remarked,¹ 'of the more solemn part of all

¹ Sermon on Eucharistic Offices, p. 257;—a storehouse of information on the subject.

ancient Liturgies,' and duly preserved in our own. To which may be added, that the otherwise abruptly introduced exhortation at the close, as to subordination, seems best interpreted of each taking his due part, whether as clerical or lay, in the eucharistic service; an instruction which S. Clement has expanded (ad Cor. i. 38) into an entire body of directions as to each observing his due place and functions at celebration. It is needless to multiply passages to the same effect. (See, however, 2 Cor. i. 11; Col. iii. 16; Phil. iv. 6.) Suffice it to say, that on careful and critical examination, as we could prove at large were this the occasion for doing so, ritual allusion to the Church's Services as then performed is found not merely occurring here and there, but *permeating large tracts of the Apostolic writings*, giving form and shaping, and supplying phraseology and figure, to the inspired thought, (of which Rom. xii. 1—xv. 16 is one signal instance, and Eph. v. 18—33, already quoted in part, another,) and that it is capable of all but demonstration, that the Apostles, in concluding their Epistles especially, used benedictions not of their own devising, nor newly dictated by the Holy Spirit at the time, but adopted from the existing and well-known eucharistic forms. In a word, actual Church ritual obtains in the apostolic writings abundant recognition as the supreme channel for all those high purposes with which it stands associated in the ordinary Christian conception.

We have been desirous of saying thus much, that it may be seen that we are as far as possible removed from any inclination to make over the Apostolic age, as our continental friends would have us, to any destitution of Church ritual in the fullest sense. But having said this, we, at the same time, cannot but see that *not all* the allusions, in the apostolic writings, to united prayer, are allusions to Church services. *Primâ facie* impressions, extending over a wide surface, are seldom altogether wrong, though they may, and generally do, call for much correction. As, then, the ordinary reader of Scripture unreflectingly applies all that the Apostles say about prayer, to private or interior, and not at all to public worship, so, after we have rescued a considerable proportion of such passages, and vindicated their liturgical character, there remain not a few of which some other account must be given. In many cases it must still remain doubtful, at best, whether public or private services are referred to; but sometimes there are determining considerations in the latter direction. An instance of this seems to be afforded by the Epistle to the Ephesians. Whoever will be at the pains to look through the early part of the 5th chapter (ver. 1—21), will perhaps not find much difficulty in admitting that S. Paul there, having occasion to press personal holiness, sets before his eyes,

as a source of varied argument and illustration, the associations and the spiritual employments of the First Day of the week. Certainly, the whole exhortation, otherwise discursive and fragmentary, is beautifully threaded together upon one pervading idea on this supposition. The topics of the first day of the week are the creation of light; the corresponding rising of Christ,—

‘Of them that long in darkness were
The true Light of their hearts;’—

and the descent, again, of life and light by the Holy Spirit: its occupation—and, perhaps, its distinguishing one—was the offering and partaking of the Christian Eucharist, with all eucharistic accompaniments of praise and thanksgiving, knowledge and charity. Mark, then, how thickly the passage is studded with these topics. ‘Walk in love, as Christ also hath loved us, and ‘given himself for us,’ (equivalent to the well-known ‘This is ‘my body, which is *given for you*,) ‘an offering and a sacrifice ‘to God for a sweet-smelling savour;’ (compare the liturgy of S. James, ‘That the Lord God having received the gifts to his ‘spiritual altar for the odour of a sweet-smelling sacrifice, would ‘send down in their stead to us the gift of the Holy Ghost.’) ‘But all uncleanness,’ (an undoubted allusion to the spotless purity of Christ’s sacrifice: compare Heb. ix. 13,—‘If the blood ‘of bulls sanctifieth to the purifying of the flesh, how ‘much more shall the blood of Christ, who offered himself without ‘spot to God, purge from dead works?’ &c.) ‘let it not be named ‘among you, as becometh sanctified ones; but rather thanks- ‘giving’ (*εὐχαριστία*, eucharistic praise); ‘For ye were some- ‘time darkness, but now are ye light in the Lord; walk as chil- ‘dren of light; for the fruit of the Spirit is in all righteousness; ‘proving what is acceptable to God: (this and the equivalent in ver. 17, ‘understanding what the will of the Lord is,’ are eucha- ‘ristic and sacrificial; compare Heb. x. 5—9, and Rom. xii., ‘Present your bodies a living sacrifice, holy, acceptable, . . . that ‘ye may prove what is that good, and acceptable, and perfect will ‘of God:’ compare also 1 Thess. iv. 3.) ‘But all things that are ‘reproved are made manifest by the light; . . . wherefore he ‘saith, Awake, thou that sleepest, and arise from the dead, and ‘Christ shall give thee light:’ (this is generally admitted to be some portion of a hymn, probably eucharistic.) Then follow those instructions for the due celebration of the Eucharist, which we have already had occasion to examine.

If, then, we may assume that all this is a recognition by the Apostle of the Church’s high eucharistic service on her weekly Resurrection Festival, we have in it a kind of rubric, not unlike that which occurs in the early part of the 1st Epistle to Timothy, —a set of instructions about the due performance of the Church’s

supreme act of worship, as the great remedy of all unholiness, the great type and expression of all sanctity. And with these instructions, be it observed, S. Paul closes, to all appearance, his address to the church of Ephesus in its corporate, and turns to address it under its domestic, aspect. For at this point commences that code of Christian household laws and duties of which we have before given a summary. Does he, then, or does he not, include among those duties, or place in close and inseparable juxtaposition with them, the duty of prayer? That is the inquiry towards which our remarks are tending, as decisive of the question, whether the worship and ritual of households, as such, is recognised and recommended by S. Paul. Now, that S. Paul does go on to urge the duty of prayer is undeniable, (chap. vi. ver. 18.) That he is not urging now public or church prayer, seems infinitely probable, from the strong appearances there are (as we have been at some pains to make out), of his having just dealt with the whole subject of public and corporate ritual; and from the different character of these later instructions from that of those earlier ones. Those, as we have seen, were all high, festal, and solemn, both as to topics and expression; here, on the contrary, the exhortations are such as men carry out in the closet and the household; exhortations to perseverance and to mutual agreement (apparently) as to objects of joint intercession: 'Praying always with all prayer and supplication in the Spirit, and watching thereunto with all perseverance and supplication for all saints, and for me.' The only question is, whether there is any serious disjunction between this exhortation and the immediately preceding 'household' part of the letter. And though the received text exhibits, in ver. 9, after the address to servants and masters, the words, 'Finally, *my brethren*,' which might seem to be a return (as Olshausen makes it) to the general aspect of the Church, yet the text of the fourth century, as set forth by Lachmann, omits the word 'brethren'; an omission to which Olshausen assents. The impression which we then derive is, that what follows, including the duty of prayer, is for the household; a view confirmed by the Apostle's passing on afterwards, without any break, to his own personal matters (ver. 21).

The whole of the argumentation which we have now applied to the fifth and sixth chapters to the Ephesians, applies with equal force, though with a curious and interesting variety of expression on the part of the Apostle, to the third and fourth chapters to the Colossians. These two, it is well known, are twin epistles; written, as is evident, at the same time, and sent by the same hand. Their general structure is, accordingly, as would be not unnatural, the same; yet, with that nice and beautiful variation which the different design of the two letters

required. The parallel holds specially with respect to the portions we are now concerned with. There is the same appearance in the one epistle as in the other of the thoughts and works of the Resurrection-Festival being in the Apostle's eye as he frames his exhortations; only that in the one is set forth, as the argument for holiness, Christ our Sacrifice (Eph. v. 2—7), in the other, Christ our Risen and Ascended Life (Col. iii. 1—7). In the one, they must be holy, because part of a pure sacrifice; in the other, because 'they are dead, and their life is hid with Christ in God:' in the one, again (Eph. v. 8—14), the redeemed ones are light as against darkness; in the other, a new man, as against the old: to the one church Christ is held up as Light, to the other as Life; only to both alike as Risen. There is in substance the self-same body of instructions for eucharistic celebration, embodying, only with varying fulness and expression, the same elements of knowledge and praise, charity and thankfulness. (Eph. v. 17—21; Col. iii. 12—17.) There is the same immediate turning to deal with the domestic relations of the faithful to each other, and in the same order, the subordinated relation coming first:—wives, husbands; children, parents; servants, masters;—only the enumeration in Colossians is more rapid. (Eph. v. 22—vi. 9; Col. iii. 18—iv. 1.) There is, finally, in Colossians, clearly and unequivocally, that which appears less distinctly in Ephesians, viz. a passing on so immediately to exhortation on the subject of prayer, as to leave no room, apparently, for doubting that it is to the faithful under the relations just specified that the exhortation applies. 'Wives,' it runs briefly, 'submit yourselves; husbands, love your wives; children, obey . . .; fathers, provoke not . . .; servants, obey . . .; masters, give that which is equal, knowing that ye also have a master in heaven. *Continue in prayer*, and watch in the same 'with thanksgiving, withal praying also for us.' And so the epistle passes on, as was natural, to other topics connected with 'the daily round, the common task;' such as making the most of time, seasoning the speech with grace, as with salt; (Col. iv. 5, 6;) how his own affairs were going (ver. 7; Eph. vi. 21, 22), and those of his neighbours, and of the church at Rome from whence he wrote; concluding with conveyance of salutations from and to particular persons, (in one instance to a household,) and as usual, with a genuine, though abbreviated, eucharistic blessing. (Col. iv. 5—18.)

May it not with much reason be said, that we here have the Apostle following home in thought from their Eucharist Feast the Christian men and women alike of Ephesus and Colosse; contemplating them as still, when returned home, gathered into mystic unity by that high ordinance, and as discharging all

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duties, accordingly, under a profound sense of truest corporate relation;—obeying, loving, nurturing, serving, laying out time, speaking, and among other things, not least of all, *uniting in prayer*,—within the all-hallowing compass of that high Dedication, that ennobling and purifying Participation? If this be admitted, it is all we seek or care to establish: for then is Household Religion and Worship set by Apostolic hands in its due place and degree, a recognised and not unhonoured department of the Christian kingdom; deriving, like all other Christian actions, its sanctification from the Church's high acts of union to her Lord, and presentation in Him; in little danger of trenching on her proper functions so long as this subordination is duly held in view; having a work, too, of its own, as well as an Apostolic warrant for doing it, the work, viz., of keeping together, as by a secondary bond, the household relations, and of furnishing a devotional presentation for them.

Some apology may be thought necessary for the critical fulness with which we have examined these passages, with a view to a subject like the present: but we are satisfied that in order to establish anything like a permanent position and status for household ritual, it is of no avail to point to isolated texts, which may or may not, on a searching analysis, bear us out. It is far more to the purpose,—indeed, nothing else will come up to our needs,—to show, if it can be shown, that some such thing found a place in the habitual thoughts of an Apostle concerning the Church, and that, however little we may know of the actual modes in which the duty was discharged, the thing itself was *not* held to be either superseded by the Church's public service, or incompatible with it. Moreover, the pertinency of one or two such tracts of Scripture as these to prove that which we seek to prove, once established, will draw with it a considerable number of passages besides. When S. Paul desires the prayers of those to whom he writes, particularly if it be towards the close of an epistle (as *e.g.* in 1 Thess. v. 25; 2 Thess. iii. 1; Heb. xiii. 18), we shall think it at least probable, that it is, of the two, the household rather than the public prayer that he is asking for; more especially, if there is an appearance of the Eucharist, or of the Church's public assemblies, having been spoken of already, and of his having now descended to speak of the common life. Now such is the case in two of the instances just specified. For in 1 Thess. v. 18, he had said, 'In every thing give thanks (*εὐχαριστεῖτε*): for this is the *will of God* in Christ Jesus; ' (see above, on Eph. v.;) and had passed on to speak of 'abstaining from all appearance of evil'; while in Heb. xiii. 10—16, (besides a previous exhortation, x. 25, about public assemblies), he had said more distinctly, 'We have an altar . . . By Him

therefore let us offer the sacrifice of praise to God continually ;' expressions, of the eucharistic character of which, the early Church made no question :—and it is after interposing an admonition about obedience, that he gives this more familiar exhortation, as if to interior prayer for an occasional need, 'Pray for us . . . and I beseech you the rather to do this that I may be restored to you.' So again, when, towards the close of his epistle to Philemon's household church, we find him saying, 'But withal prepare me also a lodging,' (*i. e.*, doubtless, quarters in his house,) 'for I trust that through *your* prayers' (in the plural, διὰ τῶν προσευχῶν ὑμῶν) 'I shall be given unto you,' we feel that we have some warrant for filling up the outline thus given us with something more than the separate private devotions of the persons addressed ; they point rather, we cannot but think, to something of a methodised common worship, in which there was an allotted place for such intercessions as the Apostle bespeaks. In one or two instances, too, we seem to catch a glimpse, now become significant, and to be relied upon, of the actual ritual operation of this 'household-church' system.

We shall not insist much upon the manifest appearance there is of the old Jewish 'grace before meat' having been retained in Christian households, and if so, pronounced, doubtless, as of old, by the master of the family ; though this is certainly the most obvious, and probably the correct acceptance of 1 Tim. iv. 4, 5,—'For every creature of God is good, and 'nothing to be refused, if it be received with thanksgiving : for 'it is sanctified by the word of God and *prayer*.' It can, however, at best prove but a single ritual action, insufficient to found a view upon. More to the purpose is the following. When S. Paul and his companions, in his last voyage to Jerusalem, had put in at Tyre, and there made a seven days' stay, they were brought on their way by the disciples, *with wives and children*, till they were out of the city, when 'they kneeled down on the shore, and prayed.' (Acts xxi. 5.) This bespeaks, surely, a habit, formed most likely by household usages, of common prayer, apart from the solemnities of the public assembly. Doubtless it was but bringing forth from the house into the open air, and to the sea-shore, a custom which we shall find traces of presently in post-apostolic times, of host and guest taking leave of each other with prayer, the prayer probably of the whole household. And this reminds us of another passage, which by itself might not prove much, but, as supported and reduced to detail by the earliest of the Latin Fathers, yields a respectable evidence, at least, for regular antiphonal household-worship. S. Peter exhorts husbands to

'give honour to the wife, as to the weaker vessel;' a passage, by the way, which is the very charter,—taking high Christian ground too, viz. the claims of the weaker,—of the chivalrous deference towards women which has descended from the middle ages to ourselves. He adds the consideration of their being equally 'heirs of the grace of life,' and of the desirableness of 'their prayers not being hindered.' This might, of course, refer to their private prayer only. But Tertullian, in a well-known passage, speaks of it as one of the felicities of a Christian, as compared with a heathen marriage, that in their daily life 'psalms and hymns resound betwixt them twain; there is a holy rivalry which shall best sing the praises of God.' We have the high authority of the latest commentator upon Hooker for understanding this of household worship. 'As used in families,' he observes, 'it (viz. antiphonal singing) seems to be mentioned 'by Tertullian, ad Uxor. ii. 9.' (Keble's Hooker, v. 39.)

We have given the ordinary interpretation of the passage in S. Peter. There is another, however, which we rather incline to, and which is even still more to our purpose. The structure of this Epistle curiously resembles that of the Epistles to the Ephesians and Colossians. Here, too, the spiritual priesthood and oblation exercised by Christians is first spoken of (ii. 5, 9); then the various kinds of subordination, only with the addition of duties towards kings, and adopting a different order, viz. servants, wives, husbands. The view we speak of is, that the instruction to husbands ends in the middle of ver. 7, ch. iii.; and that the remainder of that verse applies to all the relations which have been enumerated; 'Rendering, in short, all of you, honour 'each to the other, as being in fact all heirs together of the 'grace of life, that your prayers, the common prayers of you all 'who make up the household unit, may not be hindered' and marred by absence of charity or duty in any quarter. This seems to us a preferable view; but let the reader judge. There is, of course, no objection to the abrupt participle, 'Rendering, &c.,' for we have the selfsame abrupt structure in the next verse but one (1 Peter iii. 9), not to mention other places in which it occurs. Surely it is most interesting to find another Apostle, S. Peter, (as according to this view we do,) upholding domestic religion and worship on the selfsame grounds as we have seen S. Paul doing. It is worthy of remark, that Mr. Bowdler has instinctively made the very application of the text of S. Peter which our interpretation countenances; making one of the intercessory petitions which he provides, (viz. for the Sunday,) run thus, 'For ourselves and one another, as members of the same household, and heirs together of the grace 'of life.'

Leaving now the Apostolic writings and times, and the presumption derivable from them for the existence of household worship, let us descend a little lower in the stream of the Church's history, and see how far we can make good the second point we were to prove, viz. the prevalence of a habit of this kind, as a regular thing, in the first ages of the Church, on the testimony of ecclesiastical writings. We shall first cite the Canons commonly called Apostolical. These, though not apostolical, or only incidentally such in substance, here and there, were composed, (as is pretty generally agreed by the learned,) by several synods in the decline of the second, and in the third century;¹ and were the rule of discipline for the Church of that period, at least for the eastern part of it. The 8th (al. 11th) in order, and probably, from its position, one of the most ancient, runs thus, Εἰ τις ἀκοινωνήτω καὶ ἐν οἴκῳ συνεύξηται, οὗτος ἀφοριζέσθω. 'If any pray together with one that is excommunicated, *though in a private house*, let him be suspended from communion.' We have here a significant intimation, at least, of joint prayer in houses being a customary thing. To the same effect are the well-known passages in Tertullian, (one of them already quoted, the other alluded to,) belonging therefore to precisely the period of these canons. One of these enjoins, that no one should let a guest depart from his house without prayer;² the other commends devotional practices in married persons.

These passages, however, hardly go the length of proving anything systematic. But, proceeding yet a little further down, we encounter a phenomenon so remarkable, and so lucidly proving the point at issue,—the existence, namely, in the early Church, of service and worship distinct from the public offices, and enjoying no small degree of recognition in the practical system of those times,—that we beg to draw particular attention to it. Eusebius, then, writing the history of the third century, makes several times distinct mention of a species of excommunication to which great importance was attached, and which yet, manifestly, did not consist in exclusion from Church privileges; because it is spoken of as exercised by private persons, who had no authority to discharge that solemn function, and on persons already shut out from Church communion. And it is plain that nothing else can be meant than exclusion from set and customary private services. Thus Dionysius of Alexandria, still in the third century, is quoted as saying, 'that certain martyrs, at that time living among us, now assessors with Christ, and partakers of His kingdom,

¹ Johnson's Preface to Apostolical Canons.

² Tertull. de Oratione, c. 26.

‘received again some of the brethren which had fallen away and sacrificed to idols; and beholding their conversion and repentance, and judging that it might well be accepted by Him who desireth not the death of a sinner, they admitted them to their company, and made them partakers of their prayers and their table.’¹ Valesius rightly contends (*in loc.*) that this cannot refer to exclusion from Church prayers, and makes good his view by referring to similar instances at about the same period. Thus in the very next chapter we find Pope Cornelius reporting that Novatus, having been excommunicated by the Church, underwent subsequently a separate excommunication at the hands of a martyr named Moses. ‘Him did blessed Moses *excommunicate* (ἀκοινώνητον ἐποίησε), together with the five other priests who had severed themselves from the Church with him.’ Nothing can give a higher notion of the important *status* which the prayers and other devotions used in private dwellings enjoyed by general consent, than the solemn language in which exclusion from them is here spoken of. One thing only we seem to desiderate in these cases, and that is, some clearer intimation of the domestic character of these devotions. And this is, in a measure, supplied by a very interesting anecdote of Origen, a few years earlier. In his 17th year, finding himself, after his father’s martyrdom,—accompanied as it was by confiscation of goods,—reduced to penury, he was hospitably received by a matron of great wealth, who had adopted as her son one Paulus, an eminent heretic of the day, and as such an excommunicated person. Origen thus found himself under the necessity of living much in this person’s company: he manifested, however, the steadfastness of his faith, by refusing to be among the number of the hearers of his heretical teaching, of whom there were many, or to join in his prayers. The air of the passage (q. v.) clearly implies, we think, that what Origen stood aloof from was the ordinary household devotions, which it fell to this person, as the adopted head of the family, to conduct, and which he had expanded into a conventicle for the promotion of his heretical tenets. ‘This did Origen,’ remarks the historian, ‘observing from his youth up the canon of the Church:’—the canon, doubtless, bearing on this subject, which we have already quoted.

Putting all together, then, we seem to obtain an interesting glimpse of the household devotional life of the third century. ‘The prayers and the table’ of the martyrs,—the daily intimacy, and the household devotions, of the wealthy matron,—stand in

¹ Euseb. Hist. lib. vi. 42.

the closest connexion; to be admitted to the one is, as a general rule (as in the former instance), to share in the other;—to stand aloof from the one, while enjoying the other, is singular, and obtains the historian's marked commendation when the ground taken for it is, as in Origen's case, ascertained heretical practices in the conductor of such devotions. The habitual mode, again, of expressing rejection of a person's tenets or character is, as we have seen, to exclude him from one's 'common prayer';—nay, we find the Church herself, and that somewhere in the second century of her existence, turning the custom to account, by rendering it penal to receive an excommunicated person to prayer in one's house, or to even join in it at his.

All this, if slight, is significant;—significant of system and settled habit. If the mention which the subject obtains in ecclesiastical rules is infrequent, or the allusions to it which come out in history incidental, it is just because the thing was so *regular*, usual, and taken for granted. The private ways of any given period are confessedly,—as Mr. Macaulay has helped us to realize with respect to times not very remote from our own,—the very things it is most difficult to get at a notion of: and this, we hope, is a sufficient answer to an objection which we anticipate, to the effect that our proof in this instance is somewhat laboriously constructed, and proceeds upon the induction of few and slight particulars. From the nature of the case it might have been expected that it would be so; and the real question is, not so much how frequent or detailed is the mention, but how far customary and systematic the state of things implied. The loop-holes through which we view the household manners of these times may be few and contracted; it is sufficient if the scene which they disclose is clearly discerned to be such as we contend for.

Less circuitous proof may be alleged for the only point which remains to be made good, viz. that the religious character of the household, and an involved necessity for some kind of religious service within it, has descended to us as part and parcel of the ancient and unchanged system of our own Church. It is, we venture to say, undeniable that *the household*, with this its religious and commissioned character upon it, *is a substantive item in the Church's calculations*, in her great work of Christianizing, and keeping Christian, those committed to her charge. Passing by the well-known instruction in the Marriage Service, the best and most obvious proof of this is to be found in the sponsorial department of her baptismal provisions and ordinances. Although the Western Church has, for wise reasons, directly reversed the ancient practice, according to which parents were,

most commonly, sponsors for their own children, (*vide* Bingham, xi. 8, 3,) insomuch that some in S. Augustine's time thought, though erroneously, that none others but the parents could be sponsors; yet it is manifest that no change has been made as to the *scene* of that nurture, that 'godly and christian life,' which the sponsors are enjoined to take care that their charges shall be 'virtuously brought up to lead.' It is still, as of old, in the parental home that the carrying out of all this must take place. It is inconceivable, nor does any rational person, we suppose, maintain it, that the Church designs to remove the child, in ordinary cases, from its natural guardians, the parents; or to substitute for the nurturing influence of home other appliances for the formation of moral and religious character. The words of our exhortation to the sponsors are wary, following herein the old Sarum and other English Uses. 'It is your parts and duties to see that this infant be taught,' &c.; 'and chiefly *ye shall provide* that he may learn the Creed,' &c. 'and *may be* virtuously brought up,' &c. So the old English *Ritus baptizandi*, after committing the child to the parents' entire keeping—or, failing them, to that of the sponsors,—for the first seven years of its life, has 'Item commatribus' (the 'cummers,' or 'gossips,') 'injungatur, ut doceant infantem Pater noster, &c. *vel doceri faciant*.' And again, in a MS. 'Manual,' (*i. e.* book of priestly offices,) in the British Museum, apparently of the thirteenth century, and formerly belonging to a parish church in the diocese of Winchester, we have an actual form provided for the Minister's use, similar to our present one. 'I comaunde ow godfadre 'and godmodre, on holy chirche behalve, that ye chargen the 'fadur and modur of this child, *that they kepe* this child into the 'age of seuen zere, that hit beo [safe] from fier and water, and 'from all other mischeves and periles that myzten to him 'byfalle, throu miskepinge, and also that *ye or they* techen his 'ryzte bileue,' &c. 'or do him to beo tauzte,' &c.¹

It is observable, that no less a portion of childhood than seven years is left by these ancient rules in the parents' hands; and that it is pretty clearly intimated that with them would rest the *work*, though with the sponsors the responsibility, of the religious teaching and formation of the entire childhood. And by these old established ways we may most reasonably interpret the less definite language of our Exhortation, which makes no distinct mention of *the persons by whom* that religious training, for which the godparents are responsible to the Church, shall be conducted. The parents are doubtless intended, and so, in point of fact, everybody understands it.

¹ Maskell's Monumenta Ritualia, vol. i. p. 25.

Passing on to the rubrics at the end of the Catechism, we find that, agreeably to these conclusions, the heads of families obtain a distinct recognition in connexion with the important work of catechizing. 'The curate of every parish' is indeed to 'instruct and examine in the Catechism so many children of his parish sent unto him as he shall think convenient.' But by the next Rubric, and the parallel Canon, (59th,) it is plainly taken for granted that he will have working under him, and to a great extent superseding his labours, a goodly body of fathers, mothers, masters and dames (mistresses, Can. 59). Strictly speaking, it is only such 'children, servants, and apprentices' as '*have not* learned their Catechism,' that are required to be sent by these heads of families to the church to be catechised. Not that the curate, of course, is not bound to ascertain the proficiency of all, nor yet that he ought not, occasionally at least, to give to children of all ranks the opportunity of publicly ratifying, again and again, long before confirmation, their baptismal vow; for he is to 'instruct and examine so many as he shall think convenient.' But only the untaught are straitly charged to be sent, in any case, 'until they have learned all that is here appointed for them to learn.' What is the inference? Clearly this, that such as have means of learning these things at home should learn them there. Parents for their children, and householders ('masters and dames') for their servants, are, by the letter of rubric and canon, bound to keep an eye on the religious information of those committed to them; and, by a clear implication, they are, if competent, to take their part, and that no inconsiderable one, in the whole work of catechismal teaching. And when we put alongside of this the charge given to sponsors, to see that children be taught *by their parents* (so we have shown reason for understanding our baptismal formula,) not the Catechism merely, but much else, we can no longer doubt that the Church expects no small amount of co-operation at the hands of her householders. We say householders, and not parents merely; for by the special mention of servants and apprentices, the commission implied in the rubrics covers the whole extent of the household. And what, now, is the matter of this commission? It is no less than the whole practice, as well as knowledge, of the Christian faith and duty; it is 'the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments, and,' lest any stiff, formal interpretation of the literal command should creep in, 'all other things which a Christian ought to know and believe to his soul's health.' Provision for all this is to be made in the case of so many, be they under age or adult, children or servants, as have not yet been confirmed and communicated. Can this be done without some kind of religious ritual, some

solemnities both of hearing and service? Take the Creed: can this be taught aright, without its being used as an act of religious confession and worship? The Lord's Prayer: shall this be taught and said as a lesson,—not offered on bended knees as a prayer? or can anything short of seeing this done be to 'teach it' in its essence at all? And if this prayer, why not with it, as the Church's use has ever been, other prayers, 'after this manner,' as things necessary to the soul's health (Luke xi.)? Take the Ten Commandments; shall these be taught to Christian children and adults, apart from the evangelic unfoldings of them? or can the Creed be taught without similar unfolding of its articles? Does there not arise then, even from hence, a clear necessity for set and solemn reading and use of Holy Scripture? And does not the clause just quoted of the sponsorial exhortation, speaking of 'all things' necessary to 'the soul's health,' open a door to services and to religious habits and actions, of no stinted character? We should almost be ashamed to urge so obvious a necessity, but that we do not believe that the subject of household service is commonly looked upon from this point of view. This, however, is, we conceive, the true primary point of view. The household's proper duty is the care and nurture of the unconfirmed and uncommunicated: under this character it is that the head of the household receives his commission. Taking this as a starting-point, then, she will find that such provisions as are dictated by the needs of her more advanced members will grow easily out of this stock, or be capable of being grafted upon it. Nor is there wanting, in our existing Church system, authorization for thus extending the range of the Christian householder's oversight, in the matter of religious nurture, so as to embrace every member of the household, from the youngest or the most ignorant of the unconfirmed or non-communicant, to the most advanced in the Christian life and in fulness of eucharistic growth. In our Office for the Ordering of Priests, it is not forgotten that the clergy, whether married or single, may be, and generally are, householders; and the exhortation to them in this respect is so framed as to be virtually an instruction and commission to all other householders as to the religious care of *their* households and families. 'Will you be diligent to frame and fashion your own selves *and your families* according to the doctrine of Christ, and to make both yourselves *and them*, as much as in you lieth, *wholesome examples and patterns to the flock of Christ?*' The priest is here solemnly constituted the pattern householder, no less than the pattern man, to his parish, and his household a pattern household for theirs. In both capacities, he is to teach no less by example than by precept. He is to be holy, that they may be

so too ; his family under him holy, that theirs may be holy under them no less. In a word, there are to be Christian and christianly ordered families and households everywhere, looking to his as a pattern of all godliness. A parallel, moreover, is instituted, in giving him his commission, between his own personal nurture and that of his household : 'your own selves and your families,' it runs,—'yourselves and them.' Now, the means of his own spiritual growth had been prescribed to him in the question next preceding : 'Will you be diligent in prayers, and reading of the Holy Scriptures?' How else, then, than with the same appliances, is the spiritual growth of his household, and therefore of all other households, to be promoted? If 'diligence in prayer and in reading of the Holy Scriptures' is good and necessary for him in his personal and ministerial capacity, no doubt it is good and necessary for them in their several positions in life. And in truth, the more general exhortation on this subject, which the Bishop has just before addressed to the candidate for the priesthood, points yet more distinctly to the spiritual nature of the means by which the christian life of households is to be nurtured ; saying, 'So endeavour to *sanctify* the lives of you and yours, and to fashion them after the rule and doctrine of Christ, that ye may be wholesome and *godly* examples and patterns for the people to follow.' And again, a little earlier, 'Consider how studious ye ought to be, in framing the manners both of yourselves and of them that specially pertain unto you.' Surely there is ground enough in all this for the duty of providing a household with opportunities both of praying and learning at home, over and above the public opportunities of the kind ; and how this can be done, or how the general life 'sanctified' and made 'godly,' without some kind of service and worship, we are at a loss to imagine.

We conceive, then, that on the showing of these passages in our formularies, past and present, the charter and commission of the English Christian householder is clear and broad ; clear as the Church's baptismal and ordination provisions, broad as the range of the household itself. Quietly, indeed, as if a matter of course, but positively and very really, the Church says to all competent households, concerning children, whether in age or knowledge, 'Take this child away, and nurse it for me.' (Exod. ii. 9.) Nor does she stop there, but extends the duty to all of whatever stature. But we must not forget that S. Paul, and, perhaps, S. Peter likewise, has placed the religious character of the household, in all its relations, on yet higher grounds than those of the wholesome disciplinary rules and provisions even of the Church herself. These relations stand awfully based, as we have seen, on the mystical connexion which

each member of the household has with the Church's Lord. Each member is to demean itself towards the other 'as unto the Lord,' or, 'as in the Lord;' viewing the other, that is, as so really a member of Him, as to claim honourable tendance on those mystical grounds: so S. Paul. Each is 'to honour' the other in their several office or degree, 'as being all heirs together,' in a deeply mysterious conjunction, 'of the grace of life:' so S. Peter. This apostolic view crowns our conception of the religious office and position of the household, and adds to what results from the former considerations one more channel in which the stream of household devotion will naturally flow. The household, we see, besides a general commission to form the general life of its members after a Christian sort, and a particular one to see to the Christian grounding and nurturing of babes in Christ, has yet a charge with respect to certain relative duties—a charge which it is therefore best fitted to undertake, because it is itself the exclusive scene of those duties. It has to see and provide—just because no power external to it can half so well see or provide—that the said relative duties have their due discharge, and, in order to that, their due sanctification. These mysteriously consecrated duties have to be kept in their right place, lifted up to their high Christian standing ground; and, as an especial means of doing so, are to be 'sanctified by the Word of God and by prayer:' they are to be dealt with as the duties of 'heirs together of the grace of life;' and that they may be realized as such, it is most necessary 'that their prayers,' the prayers of those who owe these duties to each other, 'be not hindered.'

There results, then, as the particular *ἔργον* and business of Christian household worship: First, as the carrying out of what the Church expects at the hands of the household, the special instruction and formation of the young and ignorant; but in reality the forming and fashioning of the lives of all upon the Creed and the Scriptures, and the habituation of all, at the same time, to direct acts of religious service; (a charge, it will be seen, not very different in kind from that which the Jewish householder received of old): and, Secondly, in some measure as the dictate of natural feeling, but still more in pursuance of the lofty mystical standing apostolically assigned them, the consecration, by common acts of devotion, by mutual intercession, edification, and the like, of the several ties and interdependencies of the household; and in a manner the continued dedication and presentation of the household itself, as no unhonoured image of the City and Household of God.

If this, then, be accepted as a reasonable theory of household religion and worship, it will of itself go far to prescribe or

suggest the forms most suitable for that worship. We need not repeat what was said at the commencement of this article on the desirableness of preserving, in general, a Church-like type and tone in casting such a service. The use of Psalms, as the time-honoured vehicles of praise and oblation;—of versicle and response, collect or other 'oratio,' and 'Amen,'—those spiritual linkings together of heart and heart in prayer;—of some set and separate forms of confession of sins, and intercession;—these we shall now venture to assume as prime and staple elements in it. As to the contents of the collects, &c.,—after securing sympathetic communion with the Church by the use of the collect for the day or week, and by the intercession,—their general character will be pretty well determined by consideration of the purposes which the whole ordinance is to serve. They will touch, however simply or briefly, upon household wants, duties, and mutual obligations; thus carrying out the second head of those purposes which we have above described. The passages read from Holy Scripture,—for this too we assume as a household habit,—may properly be selected, in some degree, with the like aim; but the chief object to be attained by them will, we conceive, be the inculcation of the Creed: a scheme for this purpose will be suggested by-and-by. In the second of the three Primers (Bp. Hilsey's, 1539,) set forth in the reign of Henry VIII., we find a useful collection of passages bearing on household duties. This collection bears the title of 'The Office of all Estates;' and we should be glad to believe, what this title rather encourages us to suppose, that the formula is an ancient one, to be found in the earlier Primers; but this point we have not been able to determine.

The mention of the 'Primer' will perhaps suggest to the reader the inquiry, what degree of direction, if any, do we obtain from the ancient usages of our Church, bearing upon the subject of interior or household devotion. For the Primers, as is well known,—though few, perhaps, know much more than this,—were books of prayers and other devotions for the use of the laity in the later middle ages. We might expect, therefore, to obtain thence some hints, at least, upon our present subject. And that expectation by no means disappoints us altogether. At the same time we must not be surprised, if the suggestions we obtain from thence consist rather of valuable counsels on a broad scale, than of modes and formulæ, or detailed suggestions, directly applicable to our purpose. The absence of book-learning, except among the Clergy, in those ages, all but forbade any very effective discharge of religious functions by the household as such; hence, while the chief books of devotion were cast into the plural form, and presup-

posed by their structure joint and responsive use,—running parallel indeed, for the most part, to the Church's forms,—we find but little indication of a regular system of worship having been formed upon them. They were probably used, after all, by such as could use them, as private devotions.

The first of the more general kind of counsels to which we allude, entirely coincides with one which we have ventured to give above: to the effect that the interior and domestic prayers of the laity should, in the main, *be different from* the appointed public prayers of the Church:—parallel to them, if you will, to any extent; parallel in spirit, in order, and the like;—yet not the same; not the Church's service as a whole, nor yet a mere cento and extract from it. We are aware that a different impression prevails, more especially as to the nature of the Primers. It is generally supposed and stated, that the Primers published in Henry VIII.'s reign, and all other Primers before them, were simply the daily breviary services with some additions. Even Mr. Bennett, in his lectures on the Prayer-book, echoes this strange blunder, and represents the King's Primer as an instalment of the Prayer-book itself. Whereas, the only thing which the Primer offices had in common with the Church's daily office, was that they were constructed on the same general plan; otherwise the mass of the psalms, readings, collects, &c., in the Primer office, on any given day,—in truth, they were the same for every day in the year,—totally differed (except on certain days in the year) from the Psalms, &c. appointed for that day in the Church's public services. This at once shows how crude is the view of those who would prescribe to us, as the personal or household service of each day, the hour services of the breviary, or some part of them; as *e.g.* those of tierce, sexts, and nones. The practice, we repeat, so far as it is intended as an expression of dutifulness towards the ancient English Church, entirely fails of its object, since it goes directly *against* her clearly expressed mind. Let us, however, proceed to consider what positive counsels or hints, besides this negative one, we can gather from the ancient ways either of the Western or the Eastern Church. We shall, in the course of our inquiry, make good the assertion we have just hazarded. Meanwhile, we venture to request the reader's particular attention to the inquiry itself.

The well-known fact, in physical geography, that the Rhine and the Rhone, flowing due north and south, take their rise in the same mountain-range, and within a few miles of each other, finds its parallel in the equally well-established ritual fact, that the great twofold stream of the hour-service system, which, from the time of the fourth and fifth century, we find flowing over

and embracing the Eastern and the Western Church alike, took its common rise in the same soil, the monasteries of Palestine and Egypt.¹ We could hardly have expected that an institution so peculiar, and so large an innovation (for such it was) upon the Church's earlier public practice, should have found such world-wide acceptance, and should have penetrated, without opposition, into regions of such widely differing ecclesiastical character. Such, however, was the case.

The hour-service system, to which the labours of Cassian in the fifth century gave currency in the West, was none other, as to its main features, than that which the East had received the century before, and its acceptance involved in both cases the overthrow of that simpler morning and evening office which, as far as we are informed, was the general custom of the church from apostolic times. Yet the usage, received in common, was accompanied by a considerable and even vast diversity of character and detail. 'The hours' of the eastern church have almost nothing in common with those of the western, beyond the name, the principle, and a general outline. The substance of the two sets of services, and, to a great extent, their *idea*, is different. The Greek is, for one thing, far more domestic, as those who are familiar with it will at once recognise, and as is evinced by the ample use which Bishop Andrewes has made of it, almost without alteration, for private and personal devotions. Hence, too, most probably, the difference between the mind of the two churches, as to the provisions they have respectively made for the private devotional wants of their children. The Greek Church, for the domestic oratories which, under certain restrictions, she allows, adds no more to the 'Horologium,' containing the Church's hour-services² than a brief form for private use. It was natural, considering that the Church had admitted, as it were, household thoughts within her precinct, that she should remand those who desired fuller household prayers to her own formularies. In the West it was felt that the case was otherwise, and that a peculiar provision, or adaptation at least, was needed; that the hour-services, just as they stood, would *not* be the best thing to commend to private and ordinary use. The particular adaptation made we shall speak of presently. Meanwhile, let it be observed what that was which the East and West were agreed in commending to the personal use of the people: it was, namely, the general principle of the 'Hour-services.' And what was that principle? It was not (as might be thought on a superficial view), merely, nor chiefly, the necessity and the duty of continuousness or great frequency in prayer. A great testimony

¹ Vide Bingham, vol. ii. p. 301; vol. iv. p. 370; and Palmer, Orig. Lit. 4th Ed.

² Vide Neale, Introd. Hist. East. Church, pp. 848, 1187.

was, of course, borne by the system to that necessity; but if this was the essence of the usage, why did it not go on to *hourly* and really continuous prayer? Nor yet, again, was it, as some would perhaps maintain, the beauty or fitness of a *septenary* scheme of daily worship: for both in the East and the West the hours are variously reckoned as seven or eight, according as Matins and Lauds, or else Lauds and Prime, are reckoned as one or as two services. No doubt the septenary idea influenced the number of services; but it was a secondary feature of the system, not its essential principle. No: the principle in the strength of which the great Hour-system, issuing, all armed and exercised, from the monasteries of the East, made easy conquest of all Christendom,—sweeping away before it a system of service which claimed, rightly or not, to be apostolically descended, and had been, in some shape or other, the daily orisons of saints and martyrs for four hundred years,—this principle was something more searching and commanding than an admitted Christian rule, only more rigidly applied, or a mere conceit of numbers. The principle doubtless was, that men were hereby taught and trained to base prayer, and to build up life, upon the articles of the Creed. It was not merely that there were seven periods marked in the twenty-four hours, each with its assigned portion of service; but seven *such* periods as had each some sacred and soul-penetrating association, alleged or real, with the saving Actions or Passion of the Saviour of the world.

‘But now, peradventure, ye might ask,’ says an English 15th century commentary¹ on the Hour-services, ‘why these seven hours, that is to say, Matyns-time, Pryme-tyme, and so forth, are rather assigned of Holy Church to the praising of God than other hours, sith there is many more hours in the day; and to this I answer, that these hours are more specially privileged than others, for grete workes that God hath wroughte therein, for which He is everlastingly to be praised For at even our Lord was taken of the Jews, and bounde and scorned; at midnight He was borne; before day He spoiled hell; and in the morning He rose from death to life. At Prime-tide our Lord was led before Pilate and accused; and in the same hour, after His Resurrection, He appeared to Mary Magdalene; at hour of Tierce He was scourged and crowned with thorns; the same hour, after His Resurrection, He appeared to Mary Magdalene; and on Pentecost Sunday, the same hour, He sent the Holy Ghost down to the Apostles. At Sext, our Lord Jesus Christ was done on the cross, and fed with eyse (vinegar) and gall. The

¹ ‘The Myrroure,’ &c. *Vide* Maskell, *Mon. Ritualia*, vol. i.; and the recent translation of the Sarum Psalter.

‘ same hour, after his Resurrection, He appeared to the Apostle
 ‘ S. James; and on Ascension-day, the same hour, He sate
 ‘ and ate with His disciples. At hour of None our Lord Jesus
 ‘ Christ cryed, and gave out His soul by deth; the same hour
 ‘ a knight opened his side with a spere, and smote through His
 ‘ herte, whereout came water to our baptism, and blode to our
 ‘ redemption. At Evensong-time, our Lord Jesus Christ, on
 ‘ Shere Thursday, supped with His apostles, and ordained the
 ‘ Sacrament of His holy Body and Blode. The same hour, on
 ‘ Good Friday, He was taken down from the cross; and on
 ‘ Easter-day, the same hour, He met with two of His disciples
 ‘ going towards Emmaus, and made himself known to them in
 ‘ breaking of bread. At Complyn time, at even, He prayed
 ‘ and sweat blood. The same hour, on Good Friday, He was
 ‘ buried; and on Easter-day, the same hour, He appeared to
 ‘ His disciples.’

Such, with occasional variations, were the grounds taken up for the Hour-system. The associations in question were doubtless more or less familiar to the contemplation of the earlier church; and it had long been a private habit with the more devout to make devotional use of them. Thus, S. Cyprian, in the third century, points out four or five such associations: ‘ The worshippers of God of old observed three seasons of prayer; after events gave proof that there was a sacrament or mystery in the practice. At the third hour descended the Holy Spirit, &c. But to us, besides the hours of ancient times observed, both the seasons and sacraments of prayer are increased in number. In the morning we must pray, that the Resurrection of the Lord may be commemorated, &c.’ And truly, a golden thought it was thus to make these associations the occasion and the motive, as they came round, of a cycle of devotional acts. In truth, it was not so much ‘ Hours ’ that men were thus called on to observe, as divine facts of our salvation; shadows, bright or dark, cast by the True Sun upon the dial of the Church’s memory. The more full and exact elaboration of the idea, however, and the reduction of it to a definite system, was reserved for those to whom we have ascribed the authorship of it.

And so the system took a wondrous hold on the Church’s heart, and became for a thousand years the vehicle of her daily and ordinary orisons. Those secluded anchorites of the desert had made a mighty hit in psychology. As oftentimes falls out, the men of meditation had outstripped in practical wisdom the men of action. The watchers on the Mount had not only upheld by their spiritual spells the failing hands and the feeble knees of the warriors in the plain, but had found for them, too, the secret of praying still as they fought. They had devised

¹ De Orat.

how time and work might be sanctified and sublimed, in a manner, into prayer; an alchemy whereby the ore and dross of the world might be transmuted into fine gold of the sanctuary, by memorial contact, as it were, with Him that sitteth therein. Linked by correspondence of time (real or probable), with His holy actions, through the exercise of suitable acts of faith, the day, as it went round, became full of Him, and the Christian man, alone or with brethren, in the church or the field, was never far away from Christ.

Candour, and the Church's experience in the long run, require that we should point out presently certain inherent defects, and some positive mischiefs, involved in the scheme as a whole. But truly, in its great leading principle, the system was not unworthy of its mighty and universal sway. We cannot well err in reputing it a veritable suggestion, and a timely one, of the Spirit whose perpetual guidance was guaranteed to the Church. We say, a timely one, for it is very observable that this vast re-animation of the Church's devotion took place coincidently with the devastating spread of Arianism. It was in the latter part of the fourth century that the Holy Land, among others, and Bethlehem preeminently in that land, became, if we may reverently say so, the cradle, for the second time, of the religious love and adoration of the world. Then it was that the Jeromes and the Eustochiums retired to God from a world whose light seemed on the eve of extinction, to nurse the vestal fire which was never to be really put out; to frame, all unconsciously, for the Church, the type of services whereby she should take to her heart of hearts the articles of that creed which, already fearfully imperilled by the attacks of intellectual sophistries at Nice, and Ariminum, and Constantinople, had yet to bide the purifying fires of Ephesus and Chalcedon.

' When withering blasts of error swept the sky,
And love's last flower seem'd fain to droop and die,
How sweet, how lone, the ray benign
On shelter'd nooks of Palestine!
Then to his early home did Love repair,
And cheer'd his sickening heart with his own native air.'

Christian Year.—Advent Sunday.

Of this Creed-built scheme, then, thus profoundly conceived, thus eminently winning and operative, the general principle was, we say, commended by the Western Church of the middle ages to her children (viz. in the Primers), as the mould in which their interior and personal devotions, whether of single persons or of several, should be cast. 'Not only,' says Mr. Maskell, in his *Dissertation on the Primers*,¹ 'did she provide

¹ *Monumenta Ritualia*, vol. ii. p. liii.

‘ the greater services of the canonical Hours, but smaller offices were drawn up and approved, to be used in addition at the same times by the more devout among her children. Such were “ the Hours of the Holy Spirit,” “ of the Blessed Trinity,” all but “ of the Cross.” But none were so complete in their arrangement as the “ Hours of the Blessed Virgin.” Let it be observed, that the principle of each of these Manuals (and these were the chief ones, though there were others,) is exactly that which we have spoken of. The counsel given in this practical form is none other than this: ‘ Build up your life, day by day, all but hour by hour, through prayer and service, on some article or articles of Creed.’ The devout laity were encouraged, it seems, to select amongst these several Manuals some one as the rule of their daily life. As the Church’s septenary or octonary times came round, they would have their thoughts fixed, and their devotion exercised, on the facts of Christian belief, partly by the general horary arrangement of *time*,—Matins, Lauds, Prime, &c., which they would observe in common with the Church, partly by the particular *services* supplied in the Manual, whichever it might be, which they used. The association proper to each horary period was, in some respects, even more clearly marked in the Primers than in the Breviary Services; thus, at the third hour, there is in the Primers, as a general rule, a distinct recitation, daily, of our Lord’s going to the Cross; (and so of the other hours;) whereas the Breviary Services leave this association to be inferred, except in Lent, where it is expressed by the hymn. But as to the general contents of the Primers, it will be best understood what they were by referring to that one which Mr. Maskell here speaks of as the most complete; which indeed, by its universal prevalence, all but eclipsed all the others; and the use of which (in one form) was even bound upon the laity on one day in the week, viz. Saturday, by a decree of the Council of Claremont, A.D. 1096. Now this office was neither more nor less than *an abridged form of the office proper to the festivals of the Blessed Virgin*. Thus abbreviated, and with the omission (generally) of variations for the seasons, this office was commended to the unvarying daily use of the people throughout the year. And now let it be candidly considered, and noted not without admiration, how profoundly important a doctrine was thus committed to the daily contemplation and devotion of the people—the doctrine, viz. of the Incarnation. The slightest inspection of the office will show that its title is so far a misnomer, that the great mass of its teaching tends to fix the mind, not, as might be supposed, on her who bore the Saviour of the world, but on the Saviour Himself. The psalms are, in a great measure, those which are familiar to us as psalms

of festivals of our Lord; such as the 8th, 19th, 24th, 118th: the capitula, or short lessons, are from the exquisitely beautiful delineation of Him as 'Wisdom,' in the 24th of Ecclesiasticus. True it is that, notwithstanding all this, the office in effect tended only too surely to the fostering of superstition, owing chiefly to the invocations and hymns; though indeed, as Bishop Hilsey observes, in the preface to his *Primer* (1539), even these 'Scriptures themselves (such as, "He created me in the beginning before the world, and I shall never fail,") were distorted 'unto our Lady, which in their own native sense are nothing 'meant of her; but of Christ, the Wisdom of the Father.' But the really pervading thought and mind of the office, rightly and fairly looked at, is that of the Incarnation itself. And as this *Primer*, through the united effect of actual defects and of misapprehension, was doubtless one main instrument in promoting the worship of the Blessed Virgin, so we cannot doubt that, purged from those defects, and rightly used, it would effectually have built up the general mind on our most holy faith.

Such, then, was the Hour-system, in its public and its private application. It is an ungrateful task to point out the weakness of any element of spiritual strength; or to indicate the limits which are set, even by the nature of things, to the capabilities of any weapon which the Church has once wielded effectually. Yet truth is truth; such limits there are and must be; and it is the more faithful and dutiful course towards the Church, after all, to try to see things as they are; to admit, rather than to palliate failures; and to inquire after new forms of aid, if such there be, to human weakness, or after truer adjustments of the old, rather than to stand obstinately by the *status quo* of what is, after all, only a portion,—though a long one,—of the Church's existence. It is not to our present purpose to pursue the Hour-system, as a system of public service, through the history of its decline to its present state of desuetude—with the single exception of the Vespers office in the West. And in the East and West alike, where its services are performed publicly at all, it is by aggregation; by the abandonment, that is, of the proper character of the system.

But in the shape in which it was commended to the private use of the laity of the Western Church, it must be said that the system laboured under serious and fatal objections. In point of psychology there was, as we have said, deep Christian wisdom in associating the successive periods of devotion with articles of the Creed. But in that, the particular application which the hour-system presents, of the principle, there were two inherent and irremediable defects,—excessive condensation

of subject, and narrowness of range. The body of thought which the Hours with their associations were intended to bring before the mind in the course of the day, called for a more leisurely contemplation than men in general could bestow upon it. The remedy resorted to was to dwell intensely on a few of the articles thus propounded, to the disregard of the rest. Add to this, that, (as will be seen by referring to the rationale of the Hours, which we have above quoted from the 'Myrroure,') there were articles of the Creed, and those most important ones, which found little or no mention in the scheme, even as originally cast. The selection, for the contents of the Primers, of the festival services of the B. V. Mary, or of the Holy Ghost, may be viewed as an attempt to enlarge and deepen the scheme, by dwelling especially on some particular article of the faith. But this, in proportion as it intensified the contemplation, must have tended still further to limit the range of it. What was the result of the whole? Unquestionably this,—that the analogy of the faith was not preserved, rather was utterly overthrown, in the training which Western Christendom practically received through this instrument. The articles which, from their standing prominently out in the popular manuals, got hold of the heart of the people, and which therefore constituted in effect their Creed,—were chiefly those which concern the personal sufferings of our Lord;—these, as objects of contemplation, with the subjective feelings and introspections awakened by them, joined to an only too exclusively objective mode of regarding the mystery of the Incarnation, made up pretty well the sum of their practical acquaintance with the truths of Christianity. The doctrines of the Incarnation (practically viewed), of our Lord's Resurrection and Ascension, and of the descent of the Holy Spirit, exercised, we conceive, a comparatively small practical influence on the popular mind. An exception must be made in respect of the doctrine of the Second Advent, which was deeply inwrought, chiefly perhaps by means of the Dirige office, into men's thoughts. The Church's yearly cycle of truths, doubtless, came in to enlarge in a measure these views; but it may be doubted if it did this very effectually; for what a man learns daily, he learns most deeply; and two or three truths taken home by this method, will hardly receive their counterpoise from the annual inculcation of others claiming to be held equally with them. Nor shall we shrink from stating, though with all humility, our opinion, that the doctors of the later Western Church share with the people, in a great measure, the narrowness in point of practical theology of which we speak, and owe it perhaps to the same cause. Of course noble exceptions might be found; but as a general rule there is a depression, we had almost said an

abjectness, in their habitual mode of viewing and exhibiting the condition of man in Christ, which lacks, in our humble judgment, what the Apostle variously and repeatedly speaks of as the 'spirit of adoption,' 'joy in the Holy Ghost,' and the like expressions. We cannot except even the universal favourite Thomas à Kempis from the number of those practical writers, whose meditations, however perfect in their line, and however home they carry their appeals on the grounds taken up by them, we feel on a calm review to have presented to us but one or two of the truths we should live on, and to be fostering in that proportion an unreal, and, as it happens, an over darkly coloured view of the true life of faith. This may be due in a measure to the prevailing tone of the Western, as compared with that of the Eastern hour-services; we find the latter genial and glowing, chiefly with rays borrowed from the eucharistic offices, in a degree to which the western rite is a stranger; breaking out, for instance, into such bursts of song as the well-known 'Joyful light of the holy glory of the Father, immortal, heavenly, holy, blessed,' &c.; and in various ways giving prominence to the doctrines of the Resurrection and the Ascension.

The Hour-system then, considered as a practical and devotional mode of imbibing and living upon the truths of the creed, failed, not from any weakness or imperfection in the principle of it, but from the narrowness of the sphere within which its operation was confined. That it is naturally operative is sufficiently proved by the intensity with which it has inwrought two or three prime articles of the faith, *e. g.* the Incarnation and the Atonement—with whatever adherences of imperfection,—into the belief and affections of the people. It did build life upon facts of the Creed, and that vigorously, only abnormally; intensely, but too unequally. The question then arises, Can there be devised, or is there sanction for adopting, any safer application, either in the way of a substitute or a counterpoise, of the same principle?—can the Church have the good without the evil of the system? and may she still build up the interior life of her children on this attractive model? May household life and worship, in particular, derive a lesson of wisdom from the mind of the older Church, and, under some modification of her system, be at one with her as to the principle?

The state of the case is this. On the one hand we have the Church, in her ancient and primeval liturgical system, taking the articles of the Creed with a noble leisure; spreading her great thoughts, as becomes her and them, over great periods; bidding men pause and pray and practise, for days, or weeks, or months together, over single essential truths or graces of the Gospel: her Advent and Lent, her Christmas-tide and Epiphany, her Easter

and Whitsuntide, her long train of Sundays named of Trinity or Pentecost, are instances of this. On the other hand, we have seen a yearning in the heart of the Church for some closer linking of the daily life with the saving facts and realities of the Creed. Does the Church, according to its eldest and primitive mind, discountenance such a desire? Far from it. On the contrary, let it be considered if there be not a system as old as the world itself,—a system embodied in the Mosaic, adopted and expanded by the Christian dispensation, and in different degrees acted upon in all ages of the Church; which, proceeding upon the selfsame principle as the Hour-system, supplies that which we are in want of,—viz. a safe and thoroughly effective application of it.

The Days of the Week, it must be admitted by all who receive the Bible, are at once the most ancient measure of time, and that which bears the most distinct and unquestionable marks of divine sanction and dedication to remembrance of divine things. The days of the week are older than the hours of the day; moreover, God is the author of the one, man of the other. The astonishing fact of the distribution of the great work of creation into six days, might of itself have suggested a religious purpose to which man was to turn the economy, even had not the crowning mystery of God's rest on the seventh day distinctly announced such a design. And though the old Sabbatical arrangement might seem to discountenance, rather than encourage, any *positive* religious associations as belonging to the six days, such a presumption was speedily dissipated by the degree—no less astonishing and unexpected than in the parallel case of the creation—in which the facts of Christianity were inseparably bound up with the week-day cycle. So much, indeed, was this the case, that we may safely say, that it was as certainly a matter of divine preordination, that our Lord should suffer on the sixth, and rise on the first day of the week, as it was that He should suffer and rise at all. The truth of God stood engaged for these facts of time by the joint requirements of certain types and prophecies. Thus the type of the old Sabbath fixed the resting in the grave to the seventh day; that of the first-fruits fixed the Resurrection to the first; and these postulates granted, it follows of necessity, that Christ must needs have been crucified on the Friday, and on no other day of the week, because else the triduan type of Jonah, fixed as to its purport by our Lord's own interpretation, would have failed; accordingly, it was so ordained that in the year of His crucifixion the killing of the passover should fall upon a Friday. So deep in the Divine Mind, if we may reverentially say so, lay the preordination of the days on which these things should take place—a preordina-

tion extending, (as we may remark by the way, in favour of the hour-system,) to the very hour of the crucifixion itself, in virtue of the time appointed for the slaying of the Paschal Lamb, and for the evening sacrifice. But the scheme really extends to two other days of the week, thus including all of them but two. The offering of Himself by our Lord to the Father, as the perfect gift and sacrifice for sin, and to man as the life of the world, must needs have taken place, as it did, on the Thursday evening; because the hour was come,—He must be offered within the day which commenced with that Thursday's sunset; and various prophecies, paschal and others, had announced 'evening' and 'night' as the time of offering and deliverance; and the next evening it had been too late. Our Lord might be offered as *victim* on the morrow evening, but as priest He must offer Himself, if at all in the days of His flesh, and by His own voluntary and unconstrained act, that evening. So again, the betrayal-covenant of Judas took place, as signified by our Lord's own special announcement, 'two days' before His suffering; in fulfilment, perhaps, of some mysterious law, which connected His actions with triduan periods.¹ Two other great events there are, which were tied to particular days of the week; viz. the descent of the Holy Spirit to the first day, by a remarkably complex prefiguration, derived from the old feast of the weeks, and the giving of the law; and the Ascension (less certainly) to the fifth day, on the ground of the second forty days which Moses stayed in the Mount. There were, again, some striking analogies, to call them no more, between the events of the great Creation-week on certain days, and the Christian events belonging to the same days. There is, of course, the rest of God on the original seventh day, and the rest of Christ in the grave, and on the same day. This coincidence S. Paul not obscurely points to (Heb. iv. 10). There is the creation of light on the first day, and rising of the true Light on the same, to which also S. Paul (as we have before said) seems to advert (Eph. v. 14). The creation of man (perhaps also his fall) and his redemption by the death of Christ are on the same day; neither, perhaps, is it without significance that on that day were created the chief sacrificial animals. A coincidence, or analogy, which will more hardly be conceded, is that between the creation on the fifth day of the fowls of the air, and the ascension of our Lord on the same day, not through the lower air only, but through all heavens. Yet, surely, the analogy is no less natural than beautiful,

¹ Vide Williams' Study of the Four Gospels.

and the link between the type and antitype seems to be supplied by those passages, which promise to the people of God that they shall mount up as eagles, that God bears them upon eagles' wings, and the like; for in Christ's Ascension they are made to ascend into the heavenly places with Him.

The Church has never, in any age or clime, been altogether unheedful of the hints thus thrown out for the sanctification of time, by linking particular days with the articles of revelation. Not that the scheme has ever been worked out with the same fulness and zeal as the far less suggestive and less divinely prompted Hour-scheme. It would seem that the Church was so intent for ages on the latter expedient, that it was less alive to the capabilities of this; though it is, perhaps, not generally known to what great extent this too has been carried out in the East, or what increased attention was paid to it by the Western Church, (as will be pointed out presently,) at the latest revision of her ordinary offices. The first day and the seventh, the fourth and the sixth, were, from the earliest times, characteristically marked, as is well known, by appropriate additions to, or variations in, the ordinary services. The observance of the two first-mentioned days stood in avowed connexion, both with the Christian event and also with the creation event of each: the two latter with the Christian events only. This was the amount of primitive recognition of the scheme, as far as we are aware. On the introduction of the Hour-scheme, the week-day scheme was, in the East, retained coordinately with it; and not retained only but filled in and completed. Of the three *cathismata*, or hymns intervening at Lauds, between the Psalms, in the Eastern Canonical Hours, the two first are, on Sunday, of the Resurrection (*i.e.* relating to it); on Monday and Tuesday, of Meditation, chiefly penitential (*κατανυκτικά*); on Wednesday, of the Cross; on Thursday, of the Apostles; on Friday, of the Cross; on Saturday, of the Martyrs.¹ It will be observed that in this scheme, a devotional character is arbitrarily assigned to the Monday and Tuesday; the idea probably being, much as in our Easter and Whitsun Monday and Tuesday, that the thought of the Sunday is to be carried on; only in the Greek scheme, the meditation takes the form of penitential sense of unworthiness of the gift commemorated. But a more satisfactory appropriation of these two days is made in another department of the Eastern ritual, viz.—in the celebration, under certain circumstances, of the Eucharist. Where there are side chapels attached to the churches, and celebration takes place in one or more of these, in addition to the

¹ Neale: *Hist. East. Church*, Introd. vol. ii. p. 918.

celebration in the church itself, such celebration is associated¹ with the thought,—on Monday, of the Angels; on Tuesday, of the Mother of God; on Wednesday, of the Forerunner; on Thursday, of the Apostles; on Friday, of the Cross; on Saturday, of the Departed Faithful.

This scheme is far more complete than the former one; the main difference being in the appropriation of the Monday and Tuesday, of which we shall speak presently. The Wednesday, there associated, like Friday, with the Cross, is here connected with S. John the Baptist; doubtless on much the same grounds, viz.—the ascetic character which the East and West are agreed in attaching, in different degrees, to the Wednesday; for in the Greek Church it is a fast. Thursday, in both schemes, stands connected with the Apostles, in memory, no doubt, of the commission received by them on that day at the Last Supper; and, most likely, of the Ascension also, both events having been confined to the Apostles. The Saturday, in one scheme, commemorates the Martyrs; in the other, more broadly, the Departed Faithful.²

There are also, in the Eastern Church, anthems attached to the Epistles, called *prokeimena*, resembling the Western graduals, (only *preceding* instead of following the Epistle,) varying with each day of the week;³ but there is but partial appearance of their being selected on grounds of doctrine. In Lent, the scheme which we have just set down is embodied in the Hour Service (at Lauds), in a singular form. On each day of the week, except Sunday, God is invoked as the Giver of Light, through the intercession, successively, on Monday, of the angels; on Tuesday, of, &c., nearly as above.⁴ It will be perceived that there is, in this application of the week-day scheme, some admixture of the two kinds of association, derivable from the old and new Creation; the thought of the first day's work, the light, being carried through the week in connexion with articles of the Creed.

There is nothing in the Western Church parallel to this fully elaborated symbolic scheme. But on the other hand, she gives the work of the Creation on each day a distinct commemoration in her ancient Hour Office; the hymn at Vespers being, on ordinary weeks, on this subject: some spiritual lesson being also educed from the work of each day, not, however, with any

¹ Neale: Hist. East. Church, vol. i. p. 184.

² It is interesting to compare with these the names or associations assigned in the Armenian Church, (whose traditions are not to be despised,) to the days in Holy Week, viz.—Monday, the Creation of the World; Tuesday, the Deluge; Wednesday, the Destruction of Sodom; Thursday, the Mystic Supper; Friday, the Passion and Crucifixion; Saturday, the Burial.—*Ibid.* p. 733.

³ *Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 900.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 924, note.

particular allusion (if we except, perhaps, the Thursday,) to the work of Redemption with which the days stand severally associated. Yet, as we have already intimated, in the revised Roman Office this deficiency of allusion to the Gospel associations of each day is, in some degree, made good. Certain Psalms (xxii.—xxvi.), which had hitherto, throughout the West, been said in the Sunday Prime Office, were, by Pope Pius V.,¹ distributed over the next five days of the week; and so distributed, as to convey, in the instance of the only three of those days which have any Christian event pertaining to them, an allusion to that event;—an allusion the more indubitable, because the Psalms are not allotted in their natural order. By this means the xxii. Psalm is assigned, with obvious fitness, to Friday; the xxiii., scarcely less fitly, as alluding to the Eucharistic Table and the Cup, to the Thursday; and the xxvi. to the Wednesday, for the sake of the allusion, in verses 5, 9, 10, to the Betrayal.

In the ancient offices of the East and the West alike, then, or still more taking their combined practice, we find a somewhat fully delineated scheme connecting the days of the week with the events both of creation and redemption. Delineated, we say, rather than wrought out with any intensity; for though the appropriation of hymns in the Eastern Hour Office must be a very effectual instrument for the latter purpose, we see that it is applied to work out the less satisfactory of the two slightly varying schemes. But are there not here strong inducements for working out completely something like that more satisfactory scheme which we have seen standing in connexion, though not a very prominent one, with the celebration of the Eucharist? Recurring to that scheme, then, (p. 78,) we observe that to the two days which are unoccupied by any Christian event, Monday and Tuesday, are assigned respectively, as their associations, the Holy Angels and the Blessed Virgin. These associations can hardly be purely accidental or arbitrary. It is most reasonable to suppose that the former is founded on the creation, on the second day, of the heavens, and with them (as Psalm civ. seems to say, and the Eastern Church, we believe, holds,²) of the angels. The Incarnation, again, *may* possibly stand associated by some ancient tradition—so tenacious is the Eastern Church of such memories—with the third day of the week; otherwise, it is most reasonable to find the link of connexion in the work of creation for that day, which in several points of view bears upon the Incarnation. The dust of the earth, which our Lord condescended to take upon Him, was on that day produced; as were also, out of the dry land, the trees

¹ *Vide* Gavanti Thesaurus.

² *Vide* Andrewes' Devotions, Second Day.

and plants, the figures of Him, the 'Root out of the dry ground' of our humanity, Himself also the principle of immortal growth to us by our ingrafting into Him. So also He is called the Branch; the Rod out of the stem of Jesse; the Rose of Sharon; the Lily of the valleys; the Vine, &c., all works of the third day;—analogies pertinent enough, surely, to have been likely to suggest the association in question, and to commend it to us.

The counsel, then, which we seem to obtain from the Church's past efforts and experiences in the matter of personal and interior religion and modes of service, is both weighty and clear, as well in what it advises as in what it dissuades. It touches more particularly that principal function which we have seen reason for assigning to household worship, viz. that of forming the lives of all the members of the household on the articles of the Creed. While on the one hand it encourages to the utmost the use of the principle we have so often spoken of, it at the same time warns us against any narrow application of that principle. It bids us be broad, that we may be safe; to give equal development, lest we overthrow the fair and true proportions of the Christian faith. We cannot, in the face of the facts we have been reviewing, advocate the restoration, 'pure and simple,' of the Hour-system. To be safe or profitable it must both be applied with moderation, and counterpoised by the operation of a system of greater breadth and capability. Such a system we find sketched to our hand, and commended to us in no common manner, in the Week-day system. A very slight modification of the scheme which the combined usages of the East and the West present to us, yields a complete and beautiful cycle of weekly devotional praxis on the Creed. All that is needed is, with the West, to adopt the habit of associating each day with the work of creation belonging to it; with the East, the like habit in respect of the works of redemption; while, so far as there is fair ground for doing so, we recognise the analogies subsisting between the two series of associations. With respect to the two unappropriated days of the Christian week, we cannot do better than follow, with slight adjustment, the lead of the East. By this means the Monday will stand associated with the operations and ministrations of the Holy Spirit, in virtue of the creation on that day, of His types and media, as well as of the angels; Tuesday, on grounds already touched upon, with the Incarnation. And we may mention, that such a habitual view had long ago suggested itself, and been acted upon, by persons who knew nothing of the eastern usage; so natural is the connexion on which it rests.¹ Objections

¹ So also Hiekes, Devotions, Tuesday Lauds, Psalm xxxii.

will doubtless be felt against these comparatively arbitrary associations. Let us follow, it will be said, where Scripture clearly assigns associations, but no further. We would respectfully but most earnestly combat this prepossession. The whole scheme, be it understood, is so far arbitrary, that there is no distinct Scripture command or insinuation in favour of the *observance* by Christians, in the way of memorial, of more than a single one of these associations. If it be said, Let us follow only where the Church leads; we have shown that one vast section of the Church does recognise these very associations. But in truth, our earnestness in contending for them proceeds from no fondness for the 'rotundity' of the scheme as a scheme, nor yet from excess of anxiety to follow in the path of ancient suggestion; but simply from hence, that some such arrangement is indispensable to the faithful carrying out of the counsels which we have been gathering from the Church's past experience. We could not, with any consistency, utter a word of warning against the narrowness and inequality of the Hour-service mode of inculcating the Creed, and yet acquiesce in the like narrowness and inequality in the weekly one. And is there not such an inequality, if, while all other doctrines have their assigned day, the Incarnation and the operations of the Holy Spirit have none? Shall we not be returning, at this rate, to the old abnormal developments of doctrine, from which the Church has suffered so much? Let us be allowed to plead, therefore, for the adoption of the scheme as a whole.

But we derive much satisfaction from the conviction, that, with the exception of the two particular associations we have just been insisting upon, the week-day system is by no means new to the English mind of the present day, as a type in which to cast either personal or household devotions. With the former kind we are now no otherwise concerned than as leading up to the latter. But in both departments we have a devotional literature of great extent, exercising a wide and deep influence on the national mind. The admirable and much-used 'Private Devotions of Bishop Andrewes,' 'streaming,' for the most part, 'from the fountains of the East,' present of themselves a most complete grounding in this system. Archbishop Laud's, again, with less of fulness and power, and drawn almost entirely from Western sources, are remarkable for a felicitous combination of the Hour and Week-day systems. It may be expected that we should mention next Bishop Cosins' well-known Manual; but, while recognising the value, both of this and of the more authoritative 'Horarium' of Queen Elizabeth, (1560 and 1571,) after which it is formed, as evidences of a due appreciation

among ourselves of the Hour-system, we cannot place either these or the innumerable manuals, based upon the same principle, which have appeared of late years, in the same category as those of Andrewes, Laud, or others, in which the week-day scheme is recognised in more or less of conjunction with the horary. So again, to go yet a little further back, the Primer of Edward VI. proceeds certainly upon the weekly principle; having Psalms and Lessons varying (without any visible *rationale*, however,) for each day of the week. But on examination the rest of the office is simply the Church's daily office put into the singular number. It is, therefore, no more than an anticipation of Dr. Hook's scheme of Family Prayer, (from which we have already taken leave to express our dissent,) only with the addition of *improper* Psalms and Lessons.

We come, then, to the adapted work of Hickes, the non-juror. This, again, combines the horary and week-day scheme. He makes four seasons of prayer in the day; reducible, however, to two; giving them the names of Matins, Lauds, Vespers, and Compline. The first and the three last days of the week are associated with events of Redemption; the remaining three with those of Creation. The work is hardly likely to be used as it stands, but is suggestive both as to manner and matter. One feature in it more especially to our purpose, is that it recognises, more clearly, perhaps, than any preceding manual, the position and the religious importance of the household. Not only are all the offices given equally suitable, as he observes, for a single person or many, but there is added an office, morning and evening, for a family, of which we quote from his preface the following account, for the sake of its general conformity with the view which we have expressed in an earlier part of this article, both as to the religious function of the household, and as to the suggestiveness of the old Primary offices:—

‘In the office for a family is briefly comprehended, all that relates both to the erudition and devotion of a Christian family, and all the stages of human life are fitly represented, with the various dispensations of God towards mankind from the beginning to the end of all things, in order to one final and perfect restoration. And as families are founded in the society of man and woman, as first instituted by God, one main part of the service proper for a family, turns upon the religious and useful discourse of the evil and good which have been derived to mankind by woman, being part of the reformation of the office for the B. Virgin.’

Before we leave the Caroline and non-juring devotional writers, we find ourselves constrained to enter our protest against a recent well-meant but most infelicitous attempt to meet the popular mind by a compilation of them. ‘Family Devotions for a Fortnight’ is a title sufficient of itself almost to

take away one's breath. We are reassured, however, by finding ourselves in the company of our old acquaintances, Andrewes, Ken, Kettlewell, Spinckes, &c. and are ready to believe that no harm can come of such honoured sources. Yet it is even so, that the work is simply a reproduction of that old wretched type of long-winded Presbyterian 'exercises,' in the way of prayer, which has these many years so eaten out the heart of devotion and churchmanship in our households; only that the matter is borrowed as aforesaid. Surely this is a little too bad. The great names we have mentioned might have been spared an application of their devotional writings which they would themselves have most strongly repudiated. We are disposed, however, to look on this compilation as providentially put forth to give the *coup de grace* to the system which it is intended to uphold and perpetuate. If it is found, as we are confident it will be found, that not even the pure orthodoxy of Andrewes, nor the seraphic animation of Ken, drawn forth into a long and continuous spell for family use, can keep people from going to sleep over it, it will then, perhaps, be admitted that the plan is radically and incurably defective, and must be given up once and for ever.

It is a more pleasing task to proceed to speak of the Manuals of Mr. Bowdler and Mr. Ward, from the publication of which, we are inclined to think, may be dated a new era in the matter of household worship. From the preface to the former we have already given an extract, which will bespeak its general character (p. 33). The Gospel associations, on such days of the week as have any proper to them, are duly set down as a heading, and worked out by means of versicles and collects. We have also an association arbitrarily assigned to Monday and Tuesday; viz. to the former, 'the Glory of God in the Creation of the Heavens, and of Christ in the Church'—the rationale of which last is not apparent: to the latter, 'the Glory of God in the Creation and Providential Government of the World;' an idea borrowed from Hickes, but by him connected with the work of creation for the day,—'God as the Preserver and Sustainer.' Neither of the appropriations is satisfactory; because they fail to supply the gaps in the week-day scheme, considered as a means of teaching the Creed. Neither can we commend the manual as a whole. Many of the prayers are too wordy, the confessions especially, and not a few of them drawn from that very poor series, 'Prayers at the end of the Bible.' The services, also, vary too much; being totally different, except in outline, for each day of the week: whereas it seems desirable to familiarise households to some two or three varieties, at most, of confession, intercession, &c. Add to this, that there are no Psalms

printed, but only a general suggestion for their use. We consider this defect really fatal to the practicability of any Manual, as we shall have occasion to explain presently. Those, however, who are in search of valuable materials for composing or completing a Household Office will find an excellent supply of them in this careful, and, in the main, most churchmanlike compilation. There are variations in the way of versicles and collects—the latter occasionally too novel in their composition—for the Church's days and seasons.

A high degree of commendation must also be accorded to Mr. Ward's 'Family Offices:' in some respects, indeed, it borders hard upon perfection. Its defects are chiefly of a mechanical kind: these are, however, so serious as to forbid, we apprehend, its obtaining any very general acceptance. We can hardly commend too highly the degree in which church-like elements and character are preserved throughout, together with the judicious restoration of the best of the old features which we have in any degree lost; such as the use (at least on high days) of a *bond fide* antiphon before and after the Psalms; of a responsive canticle after the lesson, and of invocations of the Holy Trinity. There are also ample and well-conceived variations for the Church's festivals and seasons. The 'turning of the book,' to find the variable portions, is also simple enough, as far as the household are concerned; but would require some practice on the part of the person conducting the service. The provision for expressing the associations of ordinary week-days is the most satisfactory that we have hitherto spoken of, at least in one respect; viz. that the work of creation for each day is made the ground of one or more ascriptions of praise in a responsive form. The matter of these ascriptions is also noble and commendable. Yet, unaccountable as the omission may seem, on two days of the week only is the Gospel association added to the creation event; viz. on the Sunday and Friday. Not even on Thursday and Saturday are the Ascension and the Resting in the Grave commemorated. Besides this, the book shares the defect of Mr. Bowdler's, in being absolutely indeterminate as to the Psalm, hymn, or lesson to be used on any given day. Directions like the following are far too loose to be likely to result in anything practical:—'Then may be said such Psalm or Psalms as the master shall appoint;' 'then may be read a lesson, after which may be sung a hymn' (p. 4 and *passim*). People in general are too idle, or too busy, to be reckoned upon for acting out such bare suggestions: still less can they be expected to extemporise such a selection as will forward the general aim of the service. Mr. Ward's book, it appears to us, would be especially suited to furnish the Morning and Evening Office of

persons living together in something of religious retirement; for to such a case the fulness and variety of the offices provided for the different days and seasons of the year would be better adapted than to the case of an ordinary household: such persons, too, would have less difficulty in arranging and using a proper cycle of Psalms, hymns, and lessons.

Considerable merits, with still more considerable faults, must be the sum of the character we have to give of the 'Daily Office for the use of Families, to be said Morning and Evening throughout the Year,' published uniformly with the Parochial Tracts. In giving this character of it, we are measuring it, it is true, by a high standard; but we cannot, in the present improved and advancing condition of this branch of devotional literature—some proofs of which we have already given—speak of this as more than a commendable, far from an entirely successful, production. We readily recognise in its structure many excellent features, especially the principle of association, as far as regards the Gospel events for each day, in some degree carried out; Psalms, sometimes well selected, and printed in full; hymns for each morning and evening, from sources old and new; a sort of antiphon (not exactly after the old type) before the Psalms; and a 'Thanks be to the Lord' after the Lesson. Here are also many good ancient things brought back; such as the old Sarum 'Oratio dicenda ante Divinum officium;' and the older and fuller form of the Prime Collect, 'Direct and sanctify, rule and govern, our hearts and bodies, our thoughts, words, and deeds,' &c. Yet the manual abounds with most egregious faults. Considering the earnest tone of churchmanship which pervades the preface, it is surely an astonishing omission that there should be not a single variation provided, of any sort or kind, for the Church's seasons or days. No; 'morning and evening throughout the year,' the office is to be precisely the same, week after week. An ancient error, we grant, (to wit, that of the Primers, only that *they* made all *days* alike;) but, surely, an indefensible one. There is not so much as a suggestion to use the proper weekly Collect. Further, the services are a world too long. We cannot believe that they had ever been tried before they were printed. Eight or nine pages—pages such as those of the 'Parochial Tracts,' including four verses to be sung, is really somewhat in excess. Here, too, there is too much variety and absence of fixity in the service. The minor ritual mistakes are numerous, such as appointing the Easter-eve Collect for Sunday; Psalms, *not* of the Crucifixion, for Friday;—indeed, there is but a single brief allusion to that event in the whole office of that day. So, again, the Ascension is not once expressly alluded to on Thursday. The 8th Psalm

is, indeed, appointed, as is also, we are glad to see, the 23d, in reference, of course, to the Eucharist; but the idea is nowhere expressly brought out. Neither, again, is there any provision made for the occasional needs of a household. It will be seen that, in our view, this Manual requires a world of retrenchment and expansion, before it can claim to be a very effective instrument of household devotion.

And let it be carefully remembered, of all the Manuals which we have hitherto spoken of, that whatever commendation we have been able to bestow on them in other respects, in one point they all fail alike of being adequate instruments for carrying out what we have ventured to affirm is the primary business of offices of this kind. There is not one that frames the lives of the household fairly upon the Creed; not one that does not develop the Creed unequally by reason of its filling certain days with the thought of certain of its articles, while other articles receive no similar treatment. Now this we do most seriously contend is a capital, crying, fatal defect. It is a course we really have no right to persist in. It is a careless half-churchmanship for which we can see no excuse. It is pretending to follow in our spiritual mother's footsteps, and taking to our own by-ways for a good part of the journey. Show us the article of the faith which she omits in her yearly cycle, and we will be content it should be left out in our weekly one. When it can be proved that she has not her Christmas and Whitsuntide, as well as her Good-Friday and Easter, we shall be satisfied to fill Friday and Sunday with thoughts of the Crucifixion and the Resurrection, while those of the Incarnation and the gifts of the Spirit are left to the meditation of chance hours. No; unless we are prepared to complete our cycle, we had really better abandon the association principle, as regards the days of the week, altogether.

We should, however, have little satisfaction in having thus brought out, in the strongest manner we are able, the paramount importance, in our view, of this feature in a household service, were it not in our power to commend to the notice of such as have followed us thus far, a book of Family Offices, in which excellence of almost every other kind—at least, according to the model which has approved itself to our humble judgment, on grounds set forth in this article—is consummated by the fullest and most careful elaboration of the principle of associating, not some days in the week, but every day, with one or more articles of the Creed. The Manual which we have, not without significance of our estimate of it, placed first in our list, though last in our survey, needed not the signature of a nobleman well known for devoted affection, condensed into the most practical

forms, towards the English Church, to commend it to the adoption of English Churchmen. But we are of opinion that Lord Nelson has done right in not withholding his name. This, surely, is the very way to express, on behalf of a work of the kind, that it claims to be no more than a private effort; a suggestion or contribution humbly offered by a faithful son of the Church, after taking counsel, as is here stated, of clerical friends;—not, by any means, a book having authority. We say this as having understood that an objection, on the ground of the compiler's name having been given, had hindered the reception of the Manual in some quarters. We may anxiously desire that the need for private effort were superseded by the Church's *imprimatur*; but so long as this is not so, it is mere child's play to seek to invest what we must know to be unauthorized with the spurious impressiveness of the *ignotum pro magnifico*. We also get the benefit of an assurance, that the offices here put forth have not a mere paper existence; but that, having been tested by a six months' experience (Pref. p. vi.) in a large household, they have been found to come up to a standard and ideal of household worship, which the book itself proves to be no mean one. We could add to this, from smaller households and a humbler sphere, testimonies to the bright new life which the adoption of these forms has at once infused into the deadness (alas! to a proverb) of 'family prayers;—the testimony, too, most valuable and unsuspected of all, that of servants and children; borne partly by the evident warmth and heart with which the worship is joined in, partly by the pleasure expressed at the new kind of heavenly service to which they have found themselves thus admitted. But, in truth, we mistrust our own judgment of the general merits of a compilation which in one particular coincides so preeminently, as we have said, with our own conclusions and prepossessions. We prefer, therefore, to cite the verdict of a contemporary, not too easy to please in a matter of this kind; whose favourable judgment, too, it will be seen, rests upon every part of the book *but* the one which finds such especial favour in our eyes, and which he, on the contrary, firmly, though temperately, demurs to: and as he has also well described in brief the plan of the offices, and raised one special difficulty, we shall take leave to quote his words in full:—

'We have no hesitation in saying that, speaking generally, it is the most satisfactory and best arranged Manual that the Church of England has yet seen. The services are formed on the Old Catholic model, adapted in some degree to our own established religious habits, avoiding long prayers and lessons, and making due use of psalms and hymns. The basis of the service continues always the same; but there are portions specially appropriated to each day in the week and to the Church's varying seasons.

The most novel feature in the arrangement—the questionableness of which we fear will materially hinder the acceptance of the Manual in many quarters—is the attempt to assign some event in the Christian Dispensation, corresponding with the recorded events of the first creation, to each day of the week. In our Number of May last we discussed at some length the question how far this very tempting idea can be carried out; and we saw that for Monday and Tuesday it decidedly fails. Earl Nelson, however, is not to be deterred; and so assigns the descent of the Holy Ghost (contrary of course to the general tradition of the Church) to Monday, and the Nativity to Tuesday. An arrangement which thus disconnects the Sunday with the commemoration of the Descent of the Holy Ghost, will certainly startle English Churchmen. The editor, indeed, assures us that “a similar appropriation of the second and third days of the week has long prevailed in the Eastern Church,” but we cannot make out on what authority this statement is made. In the authorized Horologium, or Manual of Private Prayer of the Greek Church, which we have consulted, it certainly is not the case; and the fact of commemorating the descent of the Holy Spirit on *Whitsunday* seems irreconcilable with such a habit. If, however, it can be shown that we are in error, we shall be most glad to beg pardon of the noble compiler. And if persons can get over this difficulty, we promise them that in all other respects they will find nothing in the Manual but what is excellent.’—*The Ecclesiastic*, Dec. 1852.

Our contemporary has, it may seem at first sight, hit a blot in Lord Nelson’s arrangement of the days. But the truth is, that though in the preface the Descent of the Holy Spirit is spoken of as the subject of thought for the Monday, this is evidently an accidental slip, and really misrepresents the provision made in the Manual itself. By turning to the office for Sunday, it will be seen that the Descent *is* commemorated on that day, and not on Monday. What *is* commemorated on Monday is the *gifts* of the Holy Spirit, on the ground of the creation on that day of the principal types and media of His operation,—such as the air, water, and dew. To this, we conceive, there can be no well-founded objection. There can be few but must have felt that the topic of our Lord’s Resurrection so fills of itself the first day, that the association which connects the day with the Holy Spirit finds but a secondary and partially realized place; so that it is even natural to crave another day for the meditation of ‘His manifold gifts:’ which can be perfectly well done without in the least dissociating the Sunday from the Pentecostal Descent. And the fact that the Church appoints in two instances (Easter and Whitsuntide) the Monday and Tuesday to receive (so to speak) the superflux of thought redounding from the Sunday, is a sort of warrant for the choice of one of these days for the purpose we speak of. Then comes in the practice of the Greek Church, determining us, of the two, to the Monday; the Tuesday being left, as by her traditionally associated, for the remembrance of the Incarnation.

We trust that what we have said will remove all real ground

of objection; only, of course, the error in the preface to the Manual should be corrected. We hope, too, to find that our acute contemporary is satisfied, by what has been advanced in this article, that there are fair grounds in the practice of the Eastern Church for the appropriation which he has demurred to, but has so courteously expressed his willingness to be convinced of.

We shall not need many words to point out the grounds upon which we are disposed to endorse the favourable judgment of this Manual which has just been quoted, and to give it our suffrage as one which may well be accepted and used in this Church of England, until the Church herself shall give us a better. These grounds are, in brief, its combining all those qualifications which we have stipulated for in such a book, in order that it may answer the ends of a Household Worship; and in some one or more of which we have found all others, that we know of, deficient. We do not say that some of these have not attained greater excellence or fulness in some one particular or other;—one, in largeness of Festival variations; another, in evolving by suitable Scriptures the household idea,—(a point on which we are inclined to counsel some enlargement here, though of collects for all occasions of household need there is an ample supply;) a third, in the combination of the horary with the week-day principle. But, looking to operativeness and feasibility,—to well-balanced retention of all desirable elements, combined with simplicity of arrangement,—and, above all, to the work the household has to do, and the manner in which it should hold itself in subordination to the Church's own operations;—in all these respects, taken together, we confess that we know of nothing to be compared with this little volume. Not that we vouch for all details. While we commend, for instance, the all but Wesleyan warmth which is boldly thrown into the Hymn department in many places, we still think the selection might be improved upon. The appropriation of Psalms, too, may require to be reconsidered here and there. A table of suitable Lessons is also greatly needed, and will, we hope, be thought of against a second edition. One point which we more especially commend, is the relative position of the Creed, short Litany ('Lord, have,' &c.), and Lord's Prayer, following each other. This is the natural baptismal order, and it is of some importance to preserve it, in a household office especially. For in the Creed, the baptismal faith and position are taken into the mouth; in the threefold invocation and the Lord's Prayer, the baptismal privilege is exercised in its simplest and normal form. Another point is the ample supply of Psalms which the book contains. There is a fixed one set down for each day of the

ordinary week; but if this be found to savour of sameness, week after week, it is easy to draw upon the sevenfold stock provided for the season corresponding to each day; it is but to name the page, and turn to it.

The manner in which the ordinary weekly cycle is wrought out, and how it is superseded, on all fitting occasions, by one deriving its colour from the Church's own topic of thought, cannot be better expressed than in the words of the Preface:—

‘In compiling the accompanying form of family Prayer, with special Services for the days of the week, and for the great Seasons and Festivals of our Church, I have kept two objects mainly in view, 1st, to instruct our families in the simplest and most striking manner in the great doctrines of the Church; and 2dly, to effect this with the greatest possible simplicity of arrangement.

‘To accomplish the first, I have made use of short special services, arranged in cycles, weekly and annual, containing a Hymn (which may be said or sung), Text, Versicles, and Psalms, by means of which the teaching proper to the day or season can be clearly and forcibly brought home to the mind.

‘The several days of the week, with the Psalms, &c., and Hymns appropriated to them, are intended, by their continued revolution as of an inner wheel, to teach the great lessons of the Christian year. In virtue of the Services thus appropriated,—

On Sunday we think of Easter	The Resurrection.
... Monday..... Whitsuntide.....	The Descent [qy. ? Gifts] of the HOLY SPIRIT; the holy Angels.
... Tuesday	Christmas..... The Incarnation.
... Wednesday	Lent Our LORD's Temptation and Betrayal.
... Thursday	Holy Thursday..... The Ascension; Institution of Holy Communion.
... Friday	Good Friday..... The Passion.
... Saturday	[EasterEve,]Advent. All Saints; Baptismal rest in CHRIST; Judgment.

‘While the outer wheel, consisting of Special Services adapted to the Church's own appointed Seasons, is designed, as each Season comes round, to supersede these, and carry on the thought of that Season through the Octave of the Feast; or, (as in Lent and Advent,) through the whole Season.

‘In this set of Special Services there are, besides the Versicles and Hymn, Seven Psalms applicable to the Season and appointed one for each day of the week.

‘To secure the second point, the variable portion of the Service is so arranged as to require only one reference to the part of the book containing it; and only one occasion for change of position during the Prayers. The Prayers with short Lessons, (which experience seems to show are the most instructive,) would not occupy a longer period than fifteen minutes, seldom so long, and from the variety and responsive form given to them, will be found to cause less weariness and inattention than a string of Collects, or one continuous Prayer that occupied but half that time.

‘In the weekly scheme of Services here drawn out, the topics assigned to the first and four last days of the week, rest upon the sanction of Holy Scripture. For the Monday and Tuesday, however, no scriptural asso-

ciation is provided, beyond the works of creation performed on those days; yet there are fair grounds for associating them with the operations of the HOLY SPIRIT, and with the Incarnation respectively. For we have the creation, on the Monday, of the heavens, and with them, of the highest order of spiritual beings, the angels, as also of the air, winds, waters above and beneath the heavens, the chief emblems of the HOLY SPIRIT. On the Tuesday of the dust of the earth, which our LORD ennobled by taking it upon Him at His Incarnation; and of the "ground cursed for our sake," but partaking in hope together with us of "the glorious liberty of the children of God," (Rom. viii.) which by the Incarnation is given to us.

'By this arrangement, then, Whitsuntide and Christmas are provided with a Weekly day of commemoration. A similar appropriation of the second and third days of the week has long prevailed in the Eastern Church.

'We may also consider that on the first day of the week we commemorate the operations of all Three Persons of the Holy Trinity, those of the two other Persons on the second and third, while from the third to the last day of the week inclusive, all the saving actions of our LORD from the Incarnation to His coming to Judgment are commemorated.'

We will select a specimen or two of the manner in which the Creed idea is carried out by means of a daily threefold ascription of praise.

'MONDAY.

Text.—By the word of the LORD were the heavens made, and all the hosts of them by the breath of His mouth.

1. O Thou Who didst on this day create the heavens and the heaven of heavens, angels and archangels, cherubim and seraphim :

Glory be to Thee, O LORD.

2. O Thou Who didst create types of Thy HOLY SPIRIT, waters above the heavens, showers and dews, lightnings and clouds; wind and storm fulfilling Thy word :

Glory be to Thee, O LORD.

3. O Thou, Who hast given unto us the manifold gifts of Thy SPIRIT :

Glory be to Thee, O LORD.—*Lord Nelson*, p. 15.

'THURSDAY.

Text. Set your affections on things above, not on things on the earth.

1. O Thou, Who as on this day didst create the fish of the sea and the fowls of the air, a type of Thy baptized and risen members :

Glory be to Thee, O LORD.

2. O LORD JESUS, Who didst as on this day ascend into heaven to be head over all things to Thy Church, and to make us sit with Thee in heavenly places :

Glory be to Thee, O LORD.

3. O Thou, Who on the evening of this day didst institute the Sacrament of Thy most blessed Body and Blood :

Glory be to Thee, O LORD.—*Ibid.* p. 26.

And the idea, it must be remembered, is further carried on by a suitable hymn, antiphon, psalm, lesson, versicles and responses, and collect or collects. To use all this aright, twice in the day, must surely be to fill ear and heart with the invigorating tones, day by day, of the articles of our most holy faith. Indeed,

it were easy to discourse convincingly of the happiness of such as thus have the key note of their lives set 'anew every morning ;' and whose weekly round, instead of being attuned to the dull strain of this world's routine, rings responsively to the seven-fold changings of the Creed. Every one knows the peculiar aspect, the Resurrection bloom, as it were, which the world, external and internal, wears on a Sunday: why may not every day of the week breathe a corresponding, though varied, spirituality, penetrating, in the same manner as the Sunday feeling does, the whole being? Let each day be but thus transfigured or chastened with the presence of some glory or sorrow of the gospel, (and it is no chimera that this may be done,) and we shall have provided ourselves with no mean help towards maintaining the life of faith, and supplying the want of objectiveness which is so characteristic of the religious popular mind of the day. We do not say that household services alone will accomplish all this; it must be followed up in the personal life, and by the use of psalms at times of leisure, devotions formed on the same plan, and the like. And in the case of children, *the tone of the day*, as set by the household service, may be made a most effectual instrument of distinct and simplified religious teaching. The little book entitled, 'Lessons for the Days of the Week,' with a slight addition to the Monday and Tuesday readings, will be found an excellent help in teaching on this plan. For the benefit of those, young or old, who find a *memoria technica* convenient, we subjoin a summary of the associations of each day of the week with the gospel events and truths, including, occasionally, those of creation also.

Think, the First Day, how JESUS rose, the Light of Life to give,
And sent the Spirit down, that we that Risen Life might live;
Next, of that Holy Spirit's types and ministers most true,
The Angels and the viewless Air, the Waters, and the Dew;
And third, how on the earth He made the world's Creator trod,
And took our dust, and was as Man, that Man might be as God;
And fourth, how sadly on His path His Sun and Moon arose,—
Rose on His Forty Days of Fast, and His Betrayal Woes;
Fifth, how Himself, a Gift to God, to us a Feast, He gave,
Went up as Priest and King, and sits to offer, plead, and save;
And sixth, how on the painful Cross His precious Life was given,
That we with Him to self might die, thro' Him have peace with Heaven;
Seventh, how His Saints in Him have Rest from works of sin, and pain,
In Baptism, or in Paradise, until He come again.

On the subject of practical household religion, again, some valuable matter will be found in the lamented Mr. Suckling's little 'Address to his Household.' We gladly observe an entire coincidence of view with our own, as to the position and duties of households, those of the clergy especially.

We have yet a practical counsel or two to give. The first is, that those who intend to adopt this or any other well-constituted manual of family devotions, *must take some little trouble about it.* We English, with our staid ways, are a little shy, even among our own people, of bestirring ourselves to carry out, and see that others carry out, anything unwonted of this sort. But the household must really be put through their parts, so to speak, in the first instance, at the risk of occasional awkwardnesses, or nothing will be accomplished. We offer no opinion one way or the other as to the desirableness of something of the nature of an oratory, or call it a room set apart for this purpose. Only we will observe, that their view is defensible enough, who think it possible to withdraw the household prayer *too much* aloof from household associations; and that it may, after all, be the truest and most natural mode of sanctifying the hearth and the table, and with them life's common occupations, to perform household devotions in the midst of them, only with such seemliness and order as the matter admits of. Again, there is an old established fallacy, which really must be exploded:—it is to the effect, that a single book is enough for the services of a household. This notion, only that it is obviously a mere *laissez-faire* one, runs curiously counter to the zeal which rightly exists for every man, woman, and child having their Prayer Book. There is, in reality, exactly the same kind of need in one case as in the other. Let no man dream, therefore, of setting himself up with a single copy of any manual worth using: the number of his household should be the only measure of his investment this way. Compilers are bound, however, to bear this in mind, and we believe it will be generally found that every endeavour has been made to reduce, as much as possible, the cost of manuals of this kind. On the other hand, let those who crave greater fulness in some department or other of such books, reflect that the compiler is limited by the consideration of bulk and expensiveness from putting in all that he might desire. On this ground, we have forborne to urge, *inter alia*, the addition of a mid-day service to Lord Nelson's book, though we conceive that such a thing will be desired in many quarters; it will be seen at once, that unless it were unvaried, (which is objectionable,) it must swell the work greatly.

One word on behalf of the peculiar case—for it is peculiar—of those who should never be forgotten, the households and householders of the poor. It is evident that what we have been sketching is above them: that brevity and simplicity must be studied tenfold in their case: which, indeed, deserves, every way, a separate consideration. We have thought it well, however, to advert to the forthcoming 'Broad Sheet of Family Prayers for

the Labouring Classes,' as a step in the right direction towards supplying their needs. Noon-day and evening would appear to be their best opportunities of snatching a few minutes from labour or rest for this purpose. And one thing seems indispensable, in order to procure the actual adoption by them of any form, however simple, viz.—that the clergy should superintend once and again the performance of the little service. We invite the especial attention of the clergy to the best methods of bringing in the reality of so wholesome a practice.

ART. III.—*Reminiscences of Thought and Feeling. By the Author of 'Visiting my Relations.'* London: Pickering. 1852.

THERE is something attractive in all autobiography. To be admitted to a man's intimacy, even in a book, and along with the rest of the world, is a favour; and some share of that politeness and deference of demeanour attends upon our reading his statements, if he can prove any claim upon our interest, that would characterise our reception of them by word of mouth: so natural is it to seek to restore the self-accuser, who makes us his confidant, to his own good opinion. But a different frame of mind is needed for deriving the full benefit from this branch of literature. There is no reading which calls more for a judgment always on the alert—we might say, always suspicious; there is none where, with professions of candour meeting us at every turn, we are left more to our own sense to discriminate where truth really lies. A man with the purest aim at sincerity, cannot paint of his inner self a likeness to be recognised by all the world at a glance. Keen and practised habits of observation are needed to distinguish between faults known to the writer alone, and faults conspicuous to the world,—to enable us to give him his true place in the scenes he describes, and to discover what are the disturbing forces at work to hinder a full expression of truth; vanity, temper, wilfulness, self-consciousness, impatience, all of them likely elements in the character of those who throw off natural reserve, to talk about themselves.

With all these drawbacks, to any but the judicious reader, autobiography is of great value, and not the less so, perhaps, for thus exercising our judgment, and not permitting it sleepily to receive impressions. Especially is it valuable where it sheds light on the history and character of those who have had influence, or taken part in great religious movements, who have been forward in the battle-field of opinion, or who, less conspicuous, have yet thrown all the weight they possess into the cause of reformation, or change, or progress, the advocacy of new doctrine, or the reassertion of forgotten and neglected truth. Biography may mislead; a man's friends may err through affection or partiality. Prejudice, or dull perception, may lead to a permanent misrepresentation, apart from intention to deceive; but truth is to be found in all that a man tells about himself—not, as we have already asserted, on the surface, but it does not fail to show itself. A man cannot talk for an hour, or write a chapter,

on what most intimately concerns himself, and the clear-sighted listener, or reader, remain in ignorance of his leading characteristics. Something will transpire to show the congeniality of the temper and character with the views. How a man has arrived at his opinions, is often no bad guide to the value of the opinions themselves, especially to persons less versed in the abstract investigation and study of truth, than in the practical knowledge of what should be its results on the character, and what class of thinkers and actors are most likely to arrive at it. Those views at least deserve consideration and respect which are held and asserted by a calm, reasonable, constant mind, which does not pass from one conviction to another, but holds fast what it has once acquired as a part of its very being; not changing, but adding to, as thought matures; combining, harmonising, completing. It must be confessed that minds like this seldom write their own histories. They are more possessed by their subject than by their own part in it. It is the struggle, the turmoil of conflicting opinions, the sudden transitions of thought, the convulsions of feeling, which are the staple of such treatises; and the reader is justified in questioning with redoubled doubt and suspicion the conclusions of a mind which has held and rejected so many previous theories, which has so often been convinced before and forsaken its convictions. Error may often be put in so plausible a form as to look like truth, and assert itself with some weight, if supposed to be the result of a long and deliberate train of reasoning; but when we find the doctrine is taught by one who has taught its opposite before, and whose whole career shows changeableness and self-will, it stands at once upon its own merits; nay more, it loses from such an advocacy; for either it may, in its turn, be discarded like other past notions, or if held on, may only prove its congeniality with those evil dispositions.

Except that self is so ensnaring a theme, we cannot but wonder that this consideration has not checked the flow of some public confessions; but with many, truth is not truth apart from their own particular mode of holding it and arriving at it; so that the two, as it were, hang together; and however terrible the struggles may have been, there is some pleasure in talking of them. The higher the scene in which self performs its part, the keener often the interest in this self-portraiture. Nor does excess of candour in the confession of past error apparently much abate the pleasure. The past, to many minds, is so really past—they say ‘good-bye’ to the different phases of themselves with so hearty a good-will, and with such entire leave-taking—they feel so little responsibility for whatever happened in their former states of being,—that it costs them very little to reveal scenes of

folly or vanity, or grosser error. They are all but so many disguises setting off the present; faults rather of the previous systems by which they have been enthralled, than coming very directly home to their own personal identity. Nay, where there is a sense of humour and some natural gift at expression, there is even amusement in the very act of putting a former self out of countenance by telling some good story against it.

These remarks, suggested by the volume before us, in one respect do not fully apply; for while in most cases the antidote, as we would venture to call many a personal history, comes long after the bane has been diffused, here the bane and antidote come together; so that whatever harm might be got by false and dangerous opinion expressed in a dispassionate tone, more frequently by omission than by any bold assertion, and with the accompaniment of some plain practical good sense, and the profession of a deeper than ordinary spirituality, ought to be at once negatived to every reader by the picture of a life which the autobiography presents.

The work may be characterised as a clever one, not thoughtful in any true sense, and with hardly the profession of deep reasoning: the writer boasting of a sort of womanly intuition which serves her instead of that more laborious process; but furnishing a practically sufficient view of her own nature, and of the nature, too, of her present belief—as far as she holds anything that can be called such: and as this style of belief is growing into fashion with some minds, of which modern literature supplies us with too many semi-German learned instances, it is well to see its history apart, as we may say, from theology, on a mind of some power, but both from sex and circumstances removed from the training of a theological education. The fear that its more popular form, and (we may add) its more readable qualities, may place this volume in some hands where it may do mischief, has led to the present notice.

The book is divided into two equal parts, and it matters little whether we begin, like our authoress, with the thoughts and the religious theory, or, reversing this order, first dwell on the course of life out of which the present system has developed itself.

The case stands thus: here is a person believing herself to be in a deeply religious state of mind,—having attained to a spiritual knowledge, indeed, from which she can look down upon the faults and mistakes of all other religious professors,—writing a book for the avowed purpose of explaining her views, and of showing how she was brought out of a course of error and unhappiness into the knowledge and possession of divine truth and peace; who yet, in this professed exposition of her creed,

avows no belief or trust in the Redeemer as an object of faith, nor yet in the Bible as the word of God; nor yet in the Church of Christ as His fold and pasture, nor in any fundamental doctrine of Christianity—beyond, indeed, the existence of God and His Holy Spirit; and this doctrine itself suffers mutation in the progress of the volume, ceasing to be an external object of faith, and in the end owned only as existing in the heart of the believer. We do not say that all these doctrines are deliberately disavowed,—if it were so, the book could do no harm,—or that a careless perusal would prove their general neglect or rejection, but what we say is, that nowhere are they asserted as essentials, or a positive belief in them expressed, and that the holding of them in the ordinary sense is disparaged. And yet it is remarkable what a tone of feeling and emotion may pervade a religious work marked by such striking omissions, and therefore we must consider it very fortunate that the writer, who has chosen, late in life, to declare the conclusions to which she has arrived, should have been led by an impulse, which would be variously characterised, to lay before us the course of life which has issued in this negative creed; and a very different path it has been towards the attainment of truth, than many an inspired precept guides us to by its promises and warnings.

The sex of the writer has already been intimated, and though she does not announce her name, she conceals nothing beside. It would be easy, therefore, to supply this one deficiency, did we not prefer retaining the slight disguise. Strictures are less personal when attached to no name, nor is it such an outrage on our gallantry to show, as can so easily be shown, that '*the writer's*' bad, ungoverned temper, and violent will, are at the root of all her errors, and most of the sufferings and unhappiness her book records, as that Miss So-and-so has been possessed of these unfeminine and unpopular characteristics.

In revealing her sex, the author expresses some affected misgivings that, by doing so, she deprives her book of all its weight with the generality of readers; a misgiving out of place in one who believes herself, in some remarkable way, to possess truth, and a reproach which the world does not at all deserve. Though there may justly be expected from a masculine understanding and training a more continued and vigorous hold of an abstract train of thought, this prejudice would yield at once to the evidence of clear reasoning power. But this is a quality as much absent from our author's writings, as from her course of life; there is no concatenation of ideas, no train of argument, no discrimination—but a medley of detached thoughts, some telling for and some against her aim: common sense and extravagance, credulity and unbelief, practical observation and the wildest

theory, vagueness and daring assertion, all contradicting and opposing one another. While we are ready to acknowledge considerable literary merit in the graphic scenes drawn from her recollections and personal experience, and also in the point, and satire of her descriptions of her own and other people's absurdities, the whole autobiography furnishes a useful lesson,—what inefficient guardians from folly and exposure are even a good intellect and capacity, without some moral guidance and self-control. The autobiography opens with the following remarks:

'Whilst writing these pages, and giving the reins to my pen on the subject of religion with a licence which I fear may be displeasing to some readers, I have often wished, by way of explaining the cause of my taking so positive a side of the question, to relate some of the circumstances of my mental history; but ever, as this desire has presented itself, I have been prevented from fulfilling it by a dread of thrusting myself, as an individual, into notice;—a feeling which, when people have passed the period of threescore, and value no worldly possessions so much as ease and safety, it seems but prudent to entertain.

'It appears, however, to me, as if I were internally called upon to give "a reason for the hope that is in me,"—since, if we address the public at all in a didactic form, we are, as I conceive, bound to confirm those addresses with whatever we have to produce as personal experience. Nothing is sure to us but what we have acquired in that way; and those who tell us what they *know*, and can set their seal to, as incontrovertibly found by *them* to be true, render us, if but little service, still, the best service that they can.'—Pp. 137, 138.

The last sentiment is the key-note of the book; the rejection, that is, of objects of faith, in favour of an inward light and guide. Another motive is next avowed, that of removing from herself the charge of mistiness in religious views which has been brought against a former work, '*Visiting my Relations*,' probably known to some of our readers; a charge to which, in spite of her endeavours, the present volume is even more open, except so far as we take the only way of clearing it, by supposing a general infidelity and unbelief of all truths not acknowledged. She then proceeds to her personal history, which, even on the very threshold, betrays her besetting sin, and gives an insight into that wayward nature, rebellious against all authority, which first led to filial disobedience, and now, in mature years, permits a daughter to write disrespectfully, and with feelings almost vindictive, of her father, under the excuse of the world's profiting by the painful disclosure.

'Whatever be the strength and expansion of man's intellect, the necessity for learning to endure patiently, falls largely upon woman; whose patrimony, for the most part, is little else than a profound capacity for sorrow.

'It was a great inheritance of this kind that devolved to me, in the temperament I derived from my father, a vivacious Irishman, endowed with a remarkable portion of the impetuosity, propensity to blunder, and

inexplicable confusions which render that unhappy nation a sort of anomaly in the creation. I think the very greatest of his mistakes was that of taking me home from boarding-school when I was just thirteen, in order, nominally, that I might be companionable to my mother, (of whom I was the youngest and only child she had left as a home resident—the others being disposed of by marriage and other ways,) and also to show proper obedience in a state of pupilage; for as my education could not, even in my father's rapid way of jumping to conclusions, be supposed to be finished, I was furnished with instructors in such branches of polite learning and accomplishment, as in those days of simplicity, when *ologies* as yet were not, sufficed for a young lady in the middle ranks of life.

‘I say that *nominally* I was taken home to be docile, and finish my studies, and make my mother happy as her companion, my father being frequently absent from home by reason of business engagements and other causes: and a few years later, perhaps, I might have been sufficiently subdued by school discipline, and better matured faculties of reflection, to have submitted to the few restraints by which my residence under the parental roof limited my will; but I was then too young to have the least conception of the use and value of self-control, or any other idea of human life, but that people were to enjoy it as much as they could. Accordingly, to the full extent, of such joys as Misses of thirteen covet, I made myself the possessor, and especially in the article of novel reading, in which I was to be called learned for my years.’—Pp. 140, 141.

As her father and mother saw but little society, and she had few companions herself, the kitchen was her chief scene of social enjoyment, where her faculties for ridicule and satire were cultivated and indulged.

‘It must not be imagined that I was left to run wild in this way without an occasional check from my parents. Very slightly, and but seldom, was it bestowed on the part of my mother; who, not particularly happy herself in some of her domestic relations, was too well pleased to be amused with my capacity for entertaining her, to run the hazard of disturbing it with homilies that I detested and resented; but from my father it came pretty sharply, suddenly, and sometimes oftener than was wanted. Nothing could be more obvious than that I was running to waste in a fearful way, and demonstrating my views of things and people with a vivacity and energy less becoming than remarkable in so very young a person; and that it would be good for me to be curbed rather more than a little; but that it should be done after the manner in which you would curb a restive horse (I do not mean by the application of a whip, but of sharp words), was not quite so good; inasmuch as sharp words addressed to some natures, like rough treatment to some horses, tend to make them worse than they were before.

‘It was so with me. The indignation, the proud resentment with which I encountered reproof so administered, produced results, which, deepening in their nature from year to year, rendered my position towards my poor father and his to me, one of the strangest and the most painful that I think it would be possible for parent and child to experience.’—Pp. 142, 143.

This indignation at reproof characterises her throughout; we see how, later in life, every remonstrance, or decided difference of opinion, produced an estrangement and alienation towards the counsellor. Even in the present volume, which pictures

repose of spirit after all these storms, we see traces of the same asperity towards any who shall dispute her conclusions. She goes on more fully to paint her unnatural position towards her father.

‘ And the stranger, and the more painful was it, because we each of us possessed beneath the bitter and vindictive traits of character that caused so much exasperation of feeling on both sides, a fund of affectionate and genial sympathies that only wanted the right training and regulation to have made us happy in the link which nature had established between us. But as I could not endure to be treated harshly, and resented every sort of opposition that came in the form of a command, and the nature that had me in check was my very counterpart, augmented by the possession of authority and a still stronger will, I could not be otherwise than most unhappy; and I was so as a very young girl, and still more so as a young woman. By that time, the mode of reproving which was distasteful to me as a child, had become so insupportable, as to excite in me a way of opposing it by harangues (for the most part true enough, but) so abominably impertinent, that almost anything must have seemed better than to run the hazard of producing them. On this account I suppose it was, that gradually as I grew older, my father left me to myself, apparently with a silent disdain of interfering, except by occasional sarcasms, with any of my proceedings.’—P. 143.

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Some regret we see expressed for this miserable state of things, but it never amounts to repentance, or to fully realizing that the breach of the fifth commandment was the consistent habit of her youth. She is able to moralize upon it, as if such a position of father and child were a well-known and common one, and even to trace a blessing to herself from her own sin; a favourite mode of consolation with her in the subsequent indulgence of self-will which marks her whole life.

‘ If it should appear in any degree unseemly for me thus to dwell upon circumstances of so private a character, I can only plead in excuse for it that it would be totally impossible for me to relate my mental history without distinctly tracing it to the particular influence which this unhappy domestic position exercised upon the whole course of my life. Painful indeed was that influence, as I have sufficiently demonstrated; but it had a rich blessing enfolded in it, and one which the predominance of the religious sentiment in my nature rendered largely available. I cannot recollect the time in which I was not the better for sorrow; for I cannot remember the distress of any kind that did not, as by an instinct, carry me straight to God, as a child when vexed runs to its mother for help and comfort.’—P. 145.

How far this parental neglect and mismanagement were real to the extent here intimated, it is difficult to judge. Some great fault in training there undoubtedly was. But there is also in some minds such a resolution to *learn* nothing, to take in from others no opinion or rule of conduct, such an infatuation to prove that to their own selves, to their struggles or sufferings, or mental effort, they owe all the knowledge and experience they

possess, that from tempers like this we must receive with great caution all reflections on the system and moral rule under which they have lived; knowing it, *à priori*, to be a fact, that wilful minds will always be full of such reflections on circumstances affecting themselves which they could not control. In conclusion, she gives a sketch of what her father was in himself,—trying to those who had to live with him, no doubt, but we are disposed to think more sinned against than sinning in the matter of his daughter, who, according to her own confession, refused even the thought of obedience to her mother's gentle rule. This unhappy domestic party are thus pictured :—

‘ Let me, however, in justice to my poor father, state, that his faults were never of an immoral kind. He was a strictly honest, benevolent, and on the whole, a generous man; and, from first to last, in spite of all hindrances, my mother was devotedly attached to him, as, in his eccentric, Irish way, he was also to her; and very sure I am that he would have felled any body to the earth, who occasioned her a thousandth part of the uneasiness that he himself did.

‘ In the meanwhile that I was thus unhappy in my connexion with him, I was truly loving and beloved in regard to my mother ;—though being not the governed, but the governor there, I was, I deeply lament to say, a long way from exhibiting towards her the docility and dutifulness which are hard acquisitions in the way of behaviour for the young and the wilful to manifest towards the old. I was certainly not amiable. The irascible and bitter qualities which gave to my nature its fire and force, not having been in any proper way restrained and regulated, ran out like ugly weeds into a degree of self-love and self-pleasing which I did not recognise as a sin, till the selfishness and ingratitude of others against myself, occasioned me to remember that I had been guilty of it.’—P. 147.

There was, in fact, no parallel between the selfishness and ingratitude she here complains of, as subsequently befalling herself, and this flagrant breach of duty towards her parents. But we must not anticipate events.

Her father resided in Cambridge, where he followed the medical profession, and here she enjoyed intellectual advantages with which few other places would have supplied her. Her father's disposition was not such as to cultivate or invite a large acquaintance, but amongst the few were some highly gifted persons, members of the University, chief of whom was one whom she designates as ‘the Professor;’ we may go a step beyond her, and add the name to the academical title. Any one who knew Smyth, the Professor of Modern History, will be at no loss to trace to him all that is wise, either in remark or quotation in the present volume: strangely as his common sense mingles with the Gnosticism, Quietism, Mysticism, and other extravagances with which his practical experience are here allied. The authoress has, in fact, powers of appropriating, without harmonising, the different views and notions which came

before her; and it is curious to observe the influence of a strong mind on one whose natural bias is totally opposed to common sense—how the wisdom remains external, and will not amalgamate or fructify.

However, all the good which this lady acquired from this intercourse with superior minds, she is careful to explain, was simply intellectual; and she desires us to believe, that with her prayer-book in her hand, with the ordinary habits of attending church and hearing sermons, and with, we are led to suppose, the average amount of childish instruction, she was yet ignorant of the first principles of our religion. Not only had they not reached or influenced her heart, but she was unacquainted with the sound of them. On her first introduction to the Professor, she was nineteen, and he, at that time, old enough to be her father; her talent for music pleased him, and sitting by her father's fire-side, he in return for the strains of Corelli, Handel, and Geminiani, introduced her into the fields of thought and literature, in which, she gives us to understand, he found her an apt scholar.

'In short, in a way quite curious from its conciseness, simplicity, and natural emanation from the course of circumstances, he did all, I may truly say, that ever was done in an external way for my mental cultivation. Much was not wanted where a hint sufficed; and when two or three careless unconscious words of quotation had the effect, perhaps, of introducing me to months of study.

'All this however, though good, was merely intellectual; and, except as it nourished what good sense I might possess, was more influential in cultivating a sentiment of pride and self-sufficiency, than any more amiable tendencies. My father, who, as an Irishman, was, of course, exceedingly keen in a knowledge of character, (I might rather say in a knowledge of spirits, for his faculty of perception went deeper than the superficies of character) and who was shrewd enough to discern that although the Professor's conversation was addressed to them, it was rather to my mind, than to his or my mother's, that he looked for the full comprehension and enjoyment of his discourse, grew more and more indisposed to regard me with kindness.

'As my natural disposition to let myself out in words (though seldom active in his presence), began about this time to take a literary tendency, it generated, I believe, a double feeling in his heart, of delight and dislike, which, in a more kindly nature, would have led probably, to the predominance of the agreeable one; but which with him, poor soul! blighted and disappointed as he was in his expectations of comfort in me, conducted him straight to a morbid suspicion and jealousy of my fancied superiority, which, though it did not break out in language, lurked painfully in his manner.'—Pp. 150, 151.

What good end the writer proposes to herself in justification of publishing this wretched, and, we fully believe, morbid suspicion, we cannot imagine. It is too evident, that in reviewing her past life, which she feels herself called upon to do, on the

pretence of giving a reason for the hope that is in her, all the old unchastened feelings wake up, and, after the lapse of forty years, in spite of the boasted inward light and peace, early jealousy, envy, and mistrust are revived in their first bitterness.

That nothing may be left unspoken that is thought important in the history of a mind, this lady now touches upon a tenderer and softer chord, and lets us know that, while she rejected some offers of marriage, to which her heart could not respond, she did not escape the trial of a hopeless attachment, 'that bitter cup, which but few women escape, at least, from tasting.' But our curiosity so far stimulated, is no further indulged; we are bid to take for granted that the overwhelming influence, 'which links to the soul one thought alone, and that a thought of anguish,' could not be wanting to a nature like hers; and there the subject is dropped, not to be again revived.

It is almost a matter of course, that a young lady devoted to literary pursuits, on which all her time was spent which society did not occupy, and conscious of whatever power she possessed, should be touched, as she says, with the desire to try her hand as a writer. If we had space, we would give her experience in this phase of her history, as being a good specimen of the different temperament of authors and critics. She brought out, under Professor Smyth's counsel and criticism, a novel, called the 'Favourite of Nature,' which, however unknown to our readers of the present, had, it seems, considerable success thirty years ago, and touching on some secret chord of feeling, cost the professor some tears when reading the MS. She found it expedient to conceal her authorship from her parents; but became convinced that her father secretly guessed it, from the doubtful evidence that when she laid her novel in his way, and he began to read it, she heard him pronounce the heroine's character to be 'very futile.'

It is quite time, however, that we should address ourselves to the book's more serious topics; passing over rapidly the events which led to her first change of feeling. In the first flush of her literary success her mother died suddenly; and at the moment of bereavement, a little scene is recorded between father and daughter, of a more amiable and natural character than usually occurred between them; but he did not live long to profit by such endeavours towards his comfort as she cared to make. At the age of thirty-two she found herself absolutely her own mistress, and with a sufficient competency for all she could need. We believe it has been remarked, that all ardent and ill-governed minds have in some one period of their lives given way to the love of money. Our authoress confesses that this moment came to her. She received at one

time five hundred pounds for copyright and manuscript, and this awoke in her the passion of gain. It is not unlikely that her strong language exaggerates the feeling, such as it was.

‘All this was very pleasant, and made the occupation of great importance; but the simplicity and charm of it was dead and buried under the grovelling desires, the panting eagerness, the hateful appetite for money, which so easy an acquisition of it excited in my nature. The delightful world of fancy which I had loved for its own sake whilst writing the “Favourite of Nature,” the calm and useful reflections with which I then took time to enrich my work, and the wholesome pause of a few weeks to let it cool, and to refresh myself in order that I might pursue it with greater advantage, were wholly gone. My time was now put up at a premium, and so were my words and sentences; a view of the case which naturally generated haste and driving to put them together; and a counting of lines and pages to see how much of the commodity I had got ready for the market. These were virtually the motives that governed my exertions, though I did not perceive it then to be the case.’—Pp. 163, 164.

For nearly a year she remained alone in her father's house, not without feelings of desolation, if not compunction, in her solitude. It then became necessary to change her residence, and it was deliberated whether she should remove to London; but the Professor's implied counsel to remain where she was, determined her to make Cambridge still her home. ‘Better,’ he said, ‘to be somebody here than nobody there.’ And she was soon to be somebody in a new sphere of action.

‘I have never ceased to bless the Providence that guided me to a residence under the roof of Mrs. S——; a lady who was, in the largest sense of the term, a high religious professor. As the daughter of one, and the sister of three clergymen, she had formerly occupied a far higher station in society than that of keeping a day school; an employment, in which, assisted by three of her daughters, I found her engaged at my first introduction to her. I had known her by reputation some time as a fervent follower of Mr. Simeon's; and when, after vain inquiries here and there for a suitable residence, an intimate friend, who had children at her school, suggested to me that Mrs. S—— had apartments to let, I immediately repudiated her house as an abode.

“Just think,” said I, “of her trying to convert me! and if she did not do this, of her haranguing me on the iniquity of my going out to parties two or three times a week, and coming home at midnight or later!” a case of frequent occurrence; for after I got into notice as a successful author, my sphere of visiting was so rapidly extending, that few were the evenings I passed alone.’—P. 167.

A disengaged evening came, when Mrs. S—— was invited by her new inmate to spend the evening with her, a proposal gladly accepted by the good lady, who desired nothing better than to prove her theological prowess upon a new subject.

‘As our conversation was exclusively on the subject of religion, it being the only one on which she ever spoke, I may as well give a brief sketch of what at this time were my own sentiments on that important point; if any I could be said to possess that partook of a marked and distinct character.

But I scarcely think that I can better describe them, than by saying that I had a deep, loving confidence and faith in God, as a Being full of wisdom and compassion, and who, through every trial of suffering or temptation with which He permitted His creatures to be exercised, had only their ultimate happiness and everlasting blessedness in view.

'As for the doctrines of Divine wrath, eternal punishment, reprobation, election, and the rest of it, I had doubtless heard the names, but I knew nothing of the nature, as preached and taught by Calvinistic divines.'—Pp. 168, 169.

We presume by this contemptuous classification, as indeed from the whole tenor of the book, that all these doctrines are alike discarded in her present theory. She goes on to say that having in her youth been accustomed to the old cosy, sleepy style of sermon, which she tells us used to prevail in the University, she had fallen into such habits of inattention, (and this, it must be owned, is one of the lasting ill fruits of bad or stupid sermons,) that even when the style of preaching mended, her attention did not. But besides this, and far more than this, may we infer as the real ground of her ignorance, her nature's tendency to disdain all lawful authority; anything that *claimed* her obedience or the submission of her intellect, coming in the way of providential dispensation, she rebelled against, from the early days when she despised her parent's reproofs, through every change and vicissitude of her after life, up to the period when the volume closes on her mature age and deliberate convictions. Many a self-chosen guide she follows for a while, and discards when it pleases her, but never one who could prove a right to her attention and deference for his own mission or the cause he pleaded. But whatever the cause of her ignorance, she would have us believe the fact that the great doctrines of Original Sin and the Atonement were novel subjects to her thoughts, and filled her with wonder. What ideas she had attached to the teaching of the prayer-book she does not tell either here or elsewhere; for as neither Mrs. S—— on the present occasion appealed to this voice of the Church, nor any of her subsequent self-chosen guides ever, as far as we are informed, made mention of it, this great witness to Christian faith and doctrine is passed over in her book as though it had never existed to testify against her. Catechism, creeds, and prayers had fallen alike on unheeding ears. Mrs. S—— found a ready solution for her ignorance in the fact that she did not attend Mr. Simeon's preaching, who, with one or two others, monopolized, in her estimation, all the 'Gospel' in the place; this Mrs. S—— being, however, in fact, something more a follower of Whitfield than of Mr. Simeon.

"I had no idea you made so much use of the Saviour," was, I remember, one of the expressions of surprise that escaped me, and which

occasioned her to clap her hands with joy, as with glistening eyes she replied,—

“That’s it, my dear lady! that’s just the whole of the case. A sinner and a Saviour!”—Pp. 170, 171.

This is a somewhat flippant and shallow condensation of a great doctrine; but that Mrs. S——’s wording may not for one moment dim our reverential sense of its overwhelming importance, let us contemplate it as expressed with eloquent enthusiasm and a holier zeal by one of our Church’s greatest divines. ‘Let it be counted folly or frenzy, or fury whatsoever; it is our comfort and our wisdom. We care for no *knowledge* in the world but this, that man hath sinned, and God hath suffered, that God hath made Himself the Son of Man, and that men are made the righteousness of God.’¹

The interview left our authoress ‘profitably impressed with a ‘new view of herself, as a creature born in sin and shapen in ‘iniquity;’ she was ready to receive the doctrine of original sin, which in a certain sense it is to be implied she still holds, though in what sense is not so clear. She goes on,—

‘With respect to the remedy, I can remember the exact words I made use of, after Mrs. S—— had laboured the point of assuring me, and had confirmed her assurances with the most appropriate texts, that all we had to do, under a sense of guilt and pollution, was “to wash and be clean.”’

“But how wash, Mrs. S——? What do the words imply? I cannot understand them except in a spiritual and figurative sense.”

“Of course,” she said, “they could not be understood in any other;” but ever as I pressed her to give me her meaning in some definite and specific terms, she answered me with texts which just as much required to be interpreted, as that on which I was inquiring.

‘The outward blood shed on the cross at Jerusalem, was the remedy to which all her answers, and all the Scriptures which she quoted, applied.—A spiritual Redeemer,—and a holy, internal redemption, I could understand;—but this mixing of an external and material object with it, perplexed me in a painful degree.’—Pp. 171, 172.

If Baptism had been seen as a Sacrament, the relation between the external and the internal would have been seen also. The sacramental union of matter and spirit, of the visible and tangible with the spiritual and invisible, sanctified in the Incarnation, and to be traced in every dispensation vouchsafed to our complex human nature, needed here to have been asserted. Mrs. S——, speaking as she had been taught, in so boldly pronouncing on the merely figurative meaning of a true mystery, little thought of the bold reach of heresy she was encouraging in her listener; even no other than the old Gnostic notion that our Saviour’s existence on earth was only to be understood ‘in a spiritual and figurative sense;’ that there was no reality, no true assumption of our nature, but an appearance only; in

¹ Hooker on Justification.

short, a visible myth or allegory, in which light alone, we suspect, our Saviour's life on earth is received by the present writer. Her comments on this conversation furnish some distinct idea of her present formed opinions. The more pernicious, the deeper they are sought into. For the vagueness of the language and the spirituality of the tone, act as a veil. But what meaning but the worst can be attached to the idea of *spiritualizing and simplifying* every external object of belief, as if there were no object of belief apart from man's reception of it? For are not all objects of belief 'external' to the believer? Is not the Saviour upon the cross? and our Father in Heaven?

'I can truly say I longed to "lay hold upon eternal life;" a scriptural precept, which amongst others, she suggested as a command to cleave to Christ. I can now distinctly understand, that, so far as her conceptions of redemption meant any real purification and cleansing of heart, she must have arrived at the same result to which I have myself been conducted, and where I now rest; and where, as I believe, everybody must rest who clearly discerns, and ardently desires, to be delivered from the power of internal evil;—for, when we avoid the debateable and circuitous ground of religious creeds and systems, and come straight to the practical point where every creed and system that ever was composed or compiled must eventually centre,—we find all genuine faith to consist in the conscious and influential belief of the individual in the presence and agency of the Spirit of God within the soul. Every external object of belief must be brought *inward*, and spiritualized and simplified into this;—or what is it? Give it any other name or nature than an ever-living, ever-acting principle of confidence in God, founded on a *knowledge*, not a *notion*, of his nature of boundless mercy, and ineffable, unfathomable love and wisdom, revealed by the Spirit of Truth to the soul,—and, again I ask, what is it?

'I have said that I can now understand that, in so far as the religion of Mrs. S—— had any truth and comfort in it, it must, when stripped of all extrinsic mixture and confusion, have been the same as that in which I now rest; but, as she then propounded it to me, it brought me no rest, nor anything else but mystery and incongruity.'—Pp. 172, 173.

The great difference, and the one she would instantly acknowledge, was that Mrs. S—— believed in an objective Saviour; the only inference to be drawn then is that she does not believe in one; and as she does not deny that the Scriptures point to such a divine external Object of faith, her belief in Scripture must stand in the same category.

Our authoress, we are disposed to think, misdates her misgivings. They were not simultaneous with Mrs. S——'s arguments, for she seems readily enough to have embraced her views. Mrs. S——'s ardent zeal for her conversion, the patience with which she listened, the respectful and admiring interest expressed by her daughters, the excitement such a convert raised in the religious world of Cambridge, with some feelings of disappointment and satiety connected with the pursuits and society she had hitherto been occupied with, to which

impetuous and self-willed characters are so liable, all operated towards what was esteemed her conversion.

'I need scarcely say that this interview was followed by many more; in all of which she pronounced me to be in a *growing* state; and, so far as my head was filling with notions and doctrines, I suppose I might be advancing into a new phase of faith. At all events, I made rapid progress into that stage of it which consisted in decrying the purposes and pursuits of everybody who did not think with me; and I had a grim, dreary satisfaction, whenever I was out of humour with any of my former associates, in thinking that I was in a much safer condition than they were. Still, with all the latent bitterness of my own nature, and the fiery Calvinism of Mrs. S—— to aid it in the denunciatory way, I confess I could not, without great uneasiness, contemplate the everlasting perdition of some of my dear old comrades, as inevitable. Some five or six of them, I must, at all hazards, labour to convert; and as one of the oldest and most esteemed, I took the Professor in hand.

'What arguments we had, again and again, when he dropped in for half-an-hour in the evening! and how well do I recollect, on one occasion, when he came to meet a lady who was a mutual friend of us both, but who having married and settled at a distance, was then only on a visit to her friends, what a miserable, self-reproving creature, my propensity to indulge in these theological harangues, occasioned me to be. Of course I never talked of anything *but* theology in those days; and as there was only my friend (whom I wished also to convert) present, in addition to the Professor, I plunged into the subject wholly unrestrained. Neither of my companions would have anything to say to my Calvinism; which the Professor opposed with quotations from Paley. Paley, of course, I held in extreme contempt, as an evangelical doctor; scarcely acknowledging him to be a believer at all; and certainly not one in the sense which Mrs. S—— had taught me to attach to the term.'—Pp. 174—176.

At this time we may be sure the lady would admit of no latent difficulties to the Professor; her strain would be one of triumphant conviction; and we note this because it is important to rate such convictions at their true value. Her own reports of the violence of her denunciations on all who differed from her are not exaggerated; there is contemporary evidence to confirm the fact of her rabid intolerance. The controversy with the Professor ended by her flying into a violent passion, while charging Paley with a failure in Christian meekness and humility, on which her antagonist set her down in his own cool fashion.

The character of Mrs. S—— is well drawn. We recognise a weak and vain person, unchecked by any restraining influence, but full of energy and readiness of mind, and dignified by a certain stability, from the check of an even temper and necessity of industrious habits, which place her in favourable contrast with the violence, the egotism, the vacillations of purpose, of her more intellectual guest. Our authoress had drawn another likeness of her in 'Visiting my Relations,' to which she refers:—

'I dared not then, nor do I now dare, to attempt any extended detail of the extraordinary quotations from Scripture, and the grotesque application

of them, which she contrived to interweave in her discourse. I am fully persuaded that any representation which I could give of her, as she is now before my mind's eye, turning the sausages in the frying-pan,—or folding collars and handkerchiefs,—or ironing them, whilst in the midst of such of these employments as happened to be going on, 'twas "many a holy text around she strewed."—I am convinced, I say, that any picture I could paint of her thus engaged, would be weak and ineffective compared with the raciness and spirit of the actual scene.

'It was a most incongruous affair, beyond all question; but it was lively and encouraging to an anxious inquirer. Not a particle of denunciation had she for me so long as I was her patient listener, and promising disciple, and, by the real disquietude and conflict of my spirit, inspired her with a good hope that I should eventually, as she said, "come out and be separate, and touch no more the unclean thing."—Pp. 179, 180.

* * * * *

'Her daughters partook of her temperament, and, together with their mother, were simple, cheerful creatures, more unsophisticated, and unconscious of the world and all its details, than it had ever yet been my lot to come in contact with. They were industrious in their employment, contented with their lot, and kindly disposed towards one another. There was a kind of indifference in respect to everything and everybody out of their own domestic circle, which gave them a peculiarity that did not displease, though it rather puzzled me, to understand. After-events enabled me to trace it to the operation of pride; a sentiment which, in its largest development, they one and all possessed.'—Pp. 181, 182.

With this talking, gossiping circle, over whom she felt both socially and intellectually such superiority as to remove any shadow of reserve in discussing her own doubts, fears, thoughts, and feelings, her new convictions gained strength. There seems to have been no end of talking; every impulse was expressed, every change of thought or purpose announced in the very moment of conception. Here 'impetuosity and wordliness' were a perpetual source of amused interest to the daughters, who used to hail 'dearest Ma'am,' and prepare themselves for a new confession whenever she made her appearance among them. While this was going on, the important step was taken of 'going to hear Mr. Simeon.' 'Do just go to hear him,' urged Mrs. S.—; (the Simeonite formula, as it has been said, for divine worship;) and our authoress went; not without misgivings of ridicule from her worldly friends, the thought of whom witnessing her exit from Trinity Church, as she streamed out with the rest of the congregation, was almost more than she could bear. Yet, for years, her father had not failed to hear Mr. Simeon every Thursday and Sunday evening, when his parish church was closed; without, however, enrolling himself amongst his devoted followers; for the only comment he was ever heard to make was an occasional remark, 'How very odd Simeon was to-night.'

A more vivid testimony to his merits had been given every week in their kitchen by an honest labourer, whom her father discovered to be in the invariable habit of walking fourteen miles

and sacrificing his Sunday dinner for the sake of this spiritual refreshment, on which he gave him a standing invitation to dine with his servants every Sunday, and for fourteen years 'Master Starn,' on entering the kitchen, did not fail to exclaim as his opening greeting, 'What a *sarment* we have had, sure-ly!'

Neither the example of her father, nor the weekly raptures of Master Starn, had, however, been able to operate against the ridicule which she had been in the habit of hearing and joining in, till under Mrs. S——'s training her mind was ripe for the occasion; and then, as may be supposed, the effect on herself was proportionably powerful.

'I was wholly unprepared for the touching,—the heart-appealing power, with which the fervour of his manner, and the deep devotional tone of his opening prayer, affected me. It might be, and I suppose it was, that some peculiar spiritual exercise was upon him; for never afterwards was the effect he produced upon me so potent as at that time.

"Is this the man," I said to myself, "that I have presumptuously derided, and ignorantly held in contempt?"

'Nothing, during the whole of his discourse (which was on the use and necessity of trial and affliction) was so distinctly present with me, as regret that I should have lived for so many years within reach of the privilege of hearing him, and have passed it by with insolent contempt.'—P. 187.

With respect to Mr. Simeon's preaching, there must have been great power of some kind, where the influence was so extensive; but we cannot regard our authoress's testimony as of much weight to prove it. We would rather trust to Master Starn's judgment on the matter than to hers. For we perceive in all her comments on books or living teachers, that she is affected, or otherwise, not by intrinsic excellence or original power; but solely as what she reads or hears falls in with her own frame of feeling. On some occasions she gives extracts from favourite writers, in fact the merest platitudes and common-places, in which she expects us to discern a mysterious power, and from which she professes herself to have caught new and more vivid insights into truth.

'Great was the clapping of hands, and triumphant the congratulations with which, on my return home, I was received by Mrs. S—— and her daughters, who had seen me at church with delighted surprise, not knowing of my intention to go; for, indeed, I knew it not myself, a quarter of an hour before I set off. Such a talking as we had about it!—such a decided determination avowed on my part, again and again, *never* to attend any other ministry than that of Mr. Simeon, from that time forth,—I should vainly attempt to record! The reader may suppose that I kept it from that month of May, till the following November, very faithfully, and on the whole, beneficially. But, with November, a daily arrival of invitations, and an agitated acceptance of them, formed the foundation of a great part of the difficulty and disquietude of which I have already spoken. Mrs. S—— could not but know for what purpose a sedan chair was so often waiting in the passage about eight o'clock in the evening; neither did I, for some time, seek to prevent her speaking of what she either knew or thought

of it. But, ever as her monitions came thicker and sharper, and her most just remarks that we could not go two ways at once, or serve God and mammon, pierced my conscience with their truth, I became more and more unwilling to continue my intercourse with her.'—Pp. 187, 188.

Mrs. S——, however, would not abandon her convert. By spreading abroad in her circle all the details of her interesting guest's struggles, dangers, and perplexities, she found allies to help her in her work. A Mr. K——¹ enters upon the scene, and through his wife seeks her acquaintance and uses his influence. Having made a fortune by successful and daring speculations in trade, he was now residing in Cambridge, preparing for his ordination. His reserved and forbidding manners did not prevent her feeling favourably impressed. They were, indeed, at first a sort of attraction. While he would listen to her and discuss her case, and enter into her troubles, she tolerated his implied rebukes of her vanity, and found in his sterner nature a new zest and excitement. To this Mr. K——'s character, indeed, she gives an interest which the reality wanted. He was in fact a dull and commonplace person, not likely to have possessed that insight into her inner self which she supposes, nor to have been much occupied with its study, but engrossed by the statement of his own narrow and exclusive notions, and if annoyed by her, probably only by her controversial resistance to them.

The acquaintance did not ripen into friendship, but influenced her for the time. She spends an evening with him, which concludes with family prayer, in which he introduces a petition 'for a dear friend exercised with temptation and beset with danger.' On her return home, she meditates on the deep insight he has shown into the besetting sins and frailties of her nature, and contrasts her present feelings with those she usually brought home with her from her evening visits, after which she represents herself as being so excited and intoxicated by the notice she had received, as to be utterly unable to collect her thoughts for even the most formal devotion, always on these occasions going prayerless to bed, unless something had happened to annoy her. Of course there must have been a great deal of morbid vanity at work to fancy so much danger in society; to suppose so many persons occupied in the admiration of 'her reputed talents and accomplishments.' But such being the case, we must join with Mr. K——, and Mrs. S——, and all the religious world beside, in the opinion, that, for her at least, an evening party for conversation or music was fraught with danger. Only it is not so easy to escape from vanity: and was

¹ The remainder of the name will be readily supplied by those acquainted with Cambridge at this time.

there not, after the evening at Mr. K——'s, some dangerous excitement from the notice she had received, in having been the object of interest, the subject of discussion, and always in the foreground, though she speaks only of holy influences?

There was, as she owns, a morbidness of mind at work, an influence inherent to the self-willed character, which induced a feeling of contempt for old friends and old pleasures. There are some minds, and those of considerable power, which cannot be content to *rest* in any enjoyment, not really because the enjoyment is wrong or injurious to them, though it is often assumed to be so, but because they have experienced all the pleasure it can impart to their nature. Self-willed and impetuous minds like to pass on; they cannot endure the staleness of monotony; and she is alive even herself to the fact that she *liked* the new excitement as being deeper and more satisfactory than the old. Nor is it difficult to understand that a warm and vehement discussion on the subject of our immortal interests, in which no impulses are checked either by speaker or listener, and any amount of eager talking is encouraged, may make a trio of Corelli, or a chat on literary matters, appear tame by comparison. It is certain that our writer in time tired of these talkings as she did of other things. In the following passage she calls herself, in the technical language of her then party, *gay*. Now, she was never gay; this was never to others, her character. Satirical, ambitious, sardonic, but not gay:—

'There was nothing left but to make a fight of it, or run away, or do as I had ever done, and make one of the gayest of the gay, amongst those whom Mrs. S—— called and considered "poor lost creatures." Now, albeit I could by no effort of will or imagination consign these (many of them) my admired acquaintance, and some of them my oldest and most valued friends, to the lot ordained for them by Mrs. S——; yet I could clearly perceive that it was not worth while, for the sake of any pleasure their society afforded me, to peril the advancement of the far deeper and more edifying gratification which was to be derived from intercourse with persons less under the influence of worldliness of thought and pursuit.'—P. 199.

There was in all her doubts and difficulties one resource in store for her, and this the most efficacious, according to her views, that could be offered to her case. Neither then nor now does this lady ever realize any established, stated, rule or guide,—any voice conveying the collected wisdom and experience of others, any *consent* of opinions, any authority as such. She had, in fact, believed throughout but in one authority—her *own* judgment. But there are times in every person's life when even the most positive cannot be sure what their own judgment is, and in such dilemmas the lady's resource has been to look about for some person to tell her—not his opinion, nor the universal opinion,

but—what he may be able to lay hands upon, though she cannot—her own.

Her first knowledge of Mr. Simeon was, as at once harmonising with, and developing an existing state of feeling, and she had therefore accepted him as a guide; and now an opportunity offered for establishing this relation upon a more intimate and private footing. The circumstance of her attendance upon his ministry was already made known to him; for the members of his congregation, she informs us, were eager to convey to his ears every triumph and success of his preaching: but she had had no private introduction. It was, therefore, with much satisfaction that she received an invitation from Mrs. D—— to meet him; that good lady tapping her on the shoulder, one evening coming out of church, and at the same moment introducing herself, and inviting her to ‘her Jews’ meeting’ for the following evening. The scene on this evening is described at some length, but is too curious as a picture of one form of religious society, which has had so wide a sway, to be omitted or curtailed:—

‘On the appointed evening I accompanied Mrs. S—— and two of her daughters to the house of Mrs. D——; where, on arriving, we were shown into a room surrounded on three sides of it by chairs; and in the front of those that occupied the end of the apartment, were two or three benches, on which were seated, in detached parties of three or four together, a great many ladies; it being exclusively a female assembly. In the middle of the room stood a large round table filled with toys, babies’-shoes, hand-screens, and such like small ware, the contributions of different ladies towards a fancy bazaar, which was to be held on some future day for the benefit of the Jews. As we were all supposed to have taken tea before we came, we had only to seat ourselves, and wait patiently the arrival of Mr. Simeon and the lady of the house, who were taking theirs in the parlour below.

‘I thought of the different scene at the Professor’s concerts, and quailed a little as I contrasted it with the present aspect of affairs. Excellent, good people, beyond all question, and fit to be my monitors and pattern in every respect, were the greater part of those that surrounded me; but,—but,—I must confess, that I languished a little for the elegance and accomplishment I had quitted: as Mrs. S—— sometimes phrased it, I ‘hungered after the leeks and the cucumbers of Egypt.’ Things would be better, I thought, when Mr. Simeon appeared; at all events, the stifled observations given in the ghost of a whisper, the demure looks, the everything that was constrained and disagreeable, would be exchanged for the animated interest, which, if in a drawing-room he were like what he generally was in the pulpit, could not fail to follow any sort of demonstration he might be disposed to favour us with.

‘At length the door opens, and Mrs. D——, accompanied by Mr. Simeon, makes her appearance, and the assembled ladies, to the number of some forty or so, begin to look a little more cheery and life-like. They could not well do otherwise, when Mr. Simeon, immediately upon his entrance, perceiving the display of fancy articles on the table, with almost literally a hop, step, and jump, darted towards them, and gazing enraptured first on one, then on another,—smiling, nodding,—and seeming to me more as if he were performing the part of Grimaldi in a pantomime, than anything

else—at length took up a pair of baby's shoes, held them before his eyes, smiled at them, nodded at them, laid them down, then sighed profoundly, and then sat down with his hand before his face.

'I should vainly attempt to describe the wonder and distaste (I might use a stronger term) with which I gazed at all this tom-foolery. The metaphorical expression of "*you might have knocked me down with a feather*," was scarcely figurative when applied to the painful revulsion of feeling I experienced. "Was this the man to whom for more than six months I had listened with nearly as much reverence as I should have listened to S. Paul himself!" For, remarkable as it was, that so long an abstinence from anything preposterous should have been the case, in respect to a person so exceedingly open to the influence of sudden and ridiculous impulses, I do not recollect, until the present unhappy occasion, I had ever witnessed anything in his demeanour, or had heard any observation from his lips, that I could have denominated absurd or puerile. Very eccentric I often considered him;—it would have been strange indeed, for anybody to have been an attendant upon his ministry for the space of half a year, and not to have arrived at that view of his character. But the earnestness of his devotion,—the fervour of his appeals,—the profound knowledge of human corruption, of the danger of temptation,—of the difficulty of conflicting with it,—in a word, his affluence in all that constituted a living experience, and enabled a preacher to speak from it to the heart and to the conscience of his hearers,—this it was, that had enshrined him in my heart, as a shepherd who well understood how to lead his flock from pasture to pasture, and to feed them, not with dead words, but with the bread of life.

'I would not have seen him under such circumstances as this evening invested him with, for any consideration that could have been offered me. Mrs. S—, who sat by my side, soon perceived the impression which this strange scene was producing upon my mind. I could not, indeed, long keep silent; but several times during its exhibition gave utterance to my disapprobation. I even proposed to go home. "I shall never be able to bear it," I said; "I cannot endure to stay if we are to have much of this."—She besought me to be still and patient. "It was only his way," she said; "he would soon have done with it;"—an assurance which was fulfilled, by his speedily proceeding to the business of the evening.'—Pp. 201—204.

A painful scene certainly, to be recorded against a man of such undoubted sincerity of purpose as Mr. Simeon. But, after all, the fault of exhibitions like this lies more with the worshippers than the worshipped. There is a faint earthiness diffused over the melancholy company of women assembled for this spectacle, which calls to mind the superstitious atmosphere—dim, mouldy, and damp—to be experienced in certain Belgian churches, where the sight-seer is carried off to some cavernous receptacle for relics, and for the moment feels the influence of the place—awe, without elevation, and fear and mystery without a reason. It is in the power of any multitude of people who set up an idol, to make that idol play the fool in some way or other; the guilt of the victim lying chiefly in the preliminary consent needful to his installation. After this he has lost the great controlling power which keeps the common world sensible, and cannot be expected always to act as though he still had it.

Therefore the forty ladies who periodically came to witness these performances are less worthy of respect than their principal. But instead of reflecting on the evil consequences to himself and others of setting up one man as infallible, and inferring thence the necessity of some more stable rule and guide, our authoress on the first moment of disappointment, seems to have regarded the cause of religion itself as blown-up and annihilated by the exhibition, and the only practical use which the line of argument in her book derives from it is to remove the seat of authority still further into her own power and control, and to set up her own heart as her Bible and her Church.

‘I was wholly absorbed by my own disappointed feelings, and the dissatisfaction which they produced in my mind towards everybody and everything. “Vanity, vanity, all is vanity.” I saw the wise man’s sentence written upon everything! I was vain,—my worldly friends were vain,—their society vain,—their talents vain,—nothing was real to ameliorate my nature, and to pacify the restlessness of my heart; yet vainer than all, because he had presented himself to me under the semblance of wisdom, was the teacher to whose influence I had looked for that help which would have strengthened me to make the sacrifice of all that had captivated my imagination, and enslaved me to the world.

‘Little was I now disposed for the introduction to Mr. Simeon which I had but a short time before so greatly desired. I instinctively drew back, when at the close of the evening Mrs. D—— came to look for me amongst the company, for the purpose of making me known to him. Her rapid words and manner left me no choice in the question; for she had taken my hand and led me up to him before I had time to speak a word in opposition. I suppose he saw a reluctance on my part to the proposed honour, which promised no accession in me to the number of his female admirers.

‘“How is your brother, ma’am?” was his first address, and one which so clearly betokened his not knowing what to say to me, inasmuch as it was a painful subject, and must have been known for such by Mr. Simeon, my poor brother being a fellow of his college, that, added to the other unpleasant circumstances of the evening, it so disturbed me, that I hastened off as fast I could, glad to get home, and to find myself at liberty to relieve my mind of some of its emotions, by expressing them to Mrs. S—— and her daughters, with whom I returned in company. Our walk was not much occupied with conversation, for that is a word which implies reciprocity of remark; of which, on this occasion, there was none. Poor Mrs. S——, like “panting Time, toiled after me in vain;” for, my movements partaking of the excitement of my spirit, I hurried forwards, “muttering my wayward fancies as I roved,” till, as soon as I had thrown myself on a chair in Mrs. S——’s room, I ended them with a resolution most audibly and definitively announced, that from that time forth I would have nothing more to say to the religious world. Mr. Simeon had cured me of all desire for their further acquaintance. I would go back, I said, to my old friends and associates, whose religion, let it be of what kind it might, would have protected them from making so absurd an exhibition of themselves as I had that night witnessed.’—Pp. 204—206.

Mrs. S—— talked good sense in vain of Mr. Simeon’s peculiar temperament, and of his trial and temptation in being too

independent of his fellow-creatures, or as we should say, of his party, to stand in any relation of deference or respect to them. The consequence of this course, we are briefly informed, was a free and unchecked return to all the gaieties, from which she had made a temporary retreat, and with a 'deeper plunge' than ever. This wild career of dissipation must be a little exaggerated for the sake of effect, and is supposed to refer principally to occasional concerts, at which some of Mr. Simeon's adherents were sometimes present, without any affectation of being corrupted by them. When we consider the age of this lady, her cultivated faculties, and the independent part she had so long acted, the weakness here displayed is truly surprising, till we reflect that self-government is a moral power, and one in which she had all along shown herself as deficient as a wayward child, without, we must add, the simplicity and teachableness of childhood to lead her to clearer perceptions, and to that freedom which is to be acquired only in a rightly-directed service. Unhappy and restless, she forms the idea of leaving Cambridge, and one of her old friends, Dr. I——, glad to get her away from the influence of Mr. Simeon, proposes to her to join some friends of his then at Paris, and remain there for a time. She embraces the idea, asks him to make all arrangements for her, and keeps the matter a profound secret from her religious friends, until she believes it too late to retreat. It was not unreasonable in Mrs. S—— to feel concern when the news was imparted to her. There does seem a sort of formal worldliness in resolving to escape from religious perplexities by a sojourn at Paris. She therefore quoted her favourite texts from Hosea on the occasion, but did not appear to interfere further at this critical juncture; however, a sermon from Mr. Simeon, which Mr. K—— said *might* have been addressed to her, and which possibly really *was* so directed, altered her purpose; she had a conversation with Mr. K—— on her plans, which ends in her renouncing them, and asking Dr. I—— to undo all that he had done. She traces to his vexation on this account the loss of his friendship; from that time seeing but little of him. But probably she did but little during this period to retain him or any one else. For, as she says, observing amongst her new allies that the scattering of old connexions, and the loss of friends, was esteemed an unavoidable consequence of 'conversion,' she paid the costly price. In fact, at this time, it cost her but little to do so, for the same tendency which we have noted in self-willed characters, to find pleasures, wearisome after a time, applies also to friends. Many an ardent person, who can persuade himself that he obeys the imperative call of duty in sacrificing old friends, and breaking old

ties, is, in truth, weary of them. He has tried them, and must enter upon a new phase of being. In after years, reflection wakes to such thoughts as these:—

‘A costly price have I paid in this way!—*then*, unconsciously;—*now*, I see and mourn the reckless, lavish loss I entailed upon a lot too lonely in itself,—yet made still more so by this fanatical surrender of much that innocently pleased,—and more that kindly and faithfully sought to cheer and ameliorate it.’—P. 218.

But though the Paris scheme was given up, she did not feel more settled. There was an impulse to go somewhere, to form fresh ties, to have new advisers; so she proposed to herself to go to Bath, and to seek an introduction to Hannah More, who lived not far from that place. In furtherance of this new scheme, she called on Mrs. D——, to consult her whether Mr. Simeon could help forward this object; and while with some agitation of spirit she was explaining her view, Mr. Simeon himself was announced, and the case was immediately referred to him by Mrs. D——. ‘Now, my dear, tell Mr. Simeon what you have been saying to me. Dear creature, she is under great exercise of spirit.’ This sudden reference only increased her agitation, and there was danger of a scene, when, at length, Mr. Simeon checked the friendly officiousness of Mrs. D——, by saying:

“Let *me* address myself to the case, ma’am;” a command to which she signified her obedience by quitting the room. What it could possibly have to do with the matter I cannot tell, except that having heard I was a literary lady, he might think I should relish a classical quotation; but his first words to me after Mrs. D—— departed were,—

“Do you understand Latin?”

“No, Sir.”

“If you did, I would remind you of an observation of Horace;” which he repeated in English. I forget now what it was. With the exception of a manner peculiar to himself, of tapping the finger of one hand upon the palm of the other, there was nothing of the grimace which had so much offended me on the evening I first was in his company.’—P. 222.

Her adviser gave her much sensible quieting advice, recommending her to remain where she was, till she should see her way clearer; advice which may have been partly prompted by friendly consideration for Hannah More, whom he denominates ‘a lovely creature,’ being probably willing to spare her the trouble of so strange and unmanageable a disciple.

‘While we were talking, Mrs. K—— was announced. She had been to my lodgings to ask me to dine with them the following day; “and we were just going to send a note to ask the favour of your company, sir, to meet our friend here,” she said, addressing Mr. Simeon.

‘The dear, warm-hearted man! how readily he assented to her request, and how ashamed I felt of my savage criticisms upon him, on the occasion of the Jew meeting! To be sure, I saw some of the same antics displayed again; but they seemed part and parcel of the man; and really, now that

they were manifestly the ebullitions of overflowing delight in doing good, and of kindness of heart, they were not disagreeable.

"Will I come?" he said, as Mrs. K—— asked the question,—"Will I not? Yes,—yes,—yes,—yes," clapping his hands together at the repetition of every word. We waited only for the presence of Mrs. D——, who soon made her appearance, to render us a very happy party. The earnest interest which my case had excited in the good K——s, and which, even in the midst of preparing for his degree, had induced Mr. K—— to lose the greater part of a day in giving me a dinner, and inviting Mr. Simeon to meet me, for the sole purpose (as was avowed) of seeing what could be done for my good,—was really quite affecting to me; and made me feel so grateful and humbled, that I returned home with my mind considerably relieved, and felt better disposed than I had ever yet been, to stand it out bravely in my appointed place.'—Pp. 223, 224.

And here ends what may be considered the most satisfactory period of her religious experience. The story is then resumed after a five years' interval, and we find her, according to her own report, which is only too true, more violent and uncontrolled than ever in her temper; positive in her opinions, separate from her friends of all parties: Mr. Simeon evidently suspecting her, and only keeping up a formal intercourse; which she attributes to his jealousy of all independence of thought in his followers, but which may be more creditably accounted for; and her older friends only keeping up acquaintance, by occasional morning visits, in which they were edified by expositions of her religious views. Looking back upon this period, she wishes us to believe that her heart was in no way touched, that it was all talk and head-knowledge. It is a fact which we cannot doubt, and it justifies us in forming a similar suspicion, wherever religion is talked of in heat, arrogance, and temper, and does not show its proper fruits. She describes herself as full of 'harangues' and declamations to all who would listen.

'For, as my studies were now, and had been for a long time past, on the doctrinal points of religion, I was a powerful talker thereupon; and I must do myself the justice to say I was a believer also, in so far as the loading of the head with knowledge is likely to generate faith. Most certainly, I laboured with all my heart to repose in, and to extract comfort from, that which was set before me as the proper object of faith and confidence. This was the Scriptures; or, as I always heard it called, "the word of God," as it stands in the letter, and in the book. That this literal, outward knowledge, was insufficient for the high and holy work of renewing my heart, and linking my soul to its Creator, in sure and certain acquaintance with His nature of love, and beauty, and forgiveness, I had not yet discovered.'—P. 229.

It was, indeed, a blank and miserable state. Looking back upon it, and desiring to show the failure of the Evangelical system, our authoress attributes its want of success in her case to the mind being turned *outward*, when all its powers should have been directed *inward*s. Having abandoned all objective faith, we cannot quarrel with her for the opinion, but we would

ask of all who hold an Object of faith, if the very reverse may not be proved from her case. The great fault of her mind could not be otherwise than encouraged by a system which constitutes men their own judges of their state before God, which ensures salvation to all who can declare themselves moved by certain feelings, sensations, and convictions, and which promises that upon these the fruits of holiness shall follow by a necessary consequence. If instead of these excited strivings after conviction and security, she had been called upon to exercise a practical discipline over herself, giving her at the same time an external immutable test and rule by which to measure herself—even God's commandments—and pointing to those divine aids and channels of grace, which are, it is true, external, as flowing from the divine Object of our faith, but internal also as conveying this grace to the soul in which He vouchsafes to dwell, would not a more salutary training have been offered to this wayward spirit, and one more likely to attain the desired ends of faith and obedience, than the encouragement of mere states of feeling?

The writer had removed from Mrs. S——, and established herself in a house of her own: having taken with her as a companion, and to relieve her from the cares of housekeeping, which were irksome to her, one of that good lady's daughters, called A——, who was imbued with her mother's views, and had been brought up in the understanding that her whole family were of the Elect, and that the world was 'all out' of Calvinism. Towards this young person our authoress adopts at this period language of friendship and attachment, which, we suspect, owes a good deal of its sentiment to distance and absence. A—— was, in fact, a humble companion, and there was no appearance whatever of the tender equal friendship intimated in the following passage. How could there be, we would ask, with such a temper indulged on one hand, and a sense of dependence on the other?—

'I was happy enough, for some few years, in my little dwelling, with loving, kind, devoted A—— for my faithful friend and companion; for the affectionate creature so laid herself out to serve me, that if the surrender of her very life had been asked to do me a service, I believe it would have gone hard with her to refuse it. I wondered sometimes, when I contemplated what she was to me, and how my every wish was anticipated by her watchful care, I wondered, I say, how it could be! "Where was retributive justice?" I asked myself; and, with a latent dread that such a blessing *must* be taken from me to fulfil the unswerving justice of God's dealings, I sometimes added, as I thought of what I was to my poor father,—"It can never last, for I do not deserve it; sooner or later, she *must* be taken from me."

'For a long time, however, she was given to me; for all the time, indeed, that her love and care were needful; and a sharp and most unexpected stroke of sorrow, rendered both essential to me. That these did not follow in the general wreck,—that the patience and constancy of the poor

girl did not quite succumb beneath the trial which my always impetuous temper occasioned her, and which, exasperated by the pressure of feelings excoriated and bleeding at every pore, was now fearful to myself and all connected with me;—that this did not happen, is only to be attributed to the compassion and loving-kindness of the Lord, who would not lay upon His afflicted creature more than she could bear; but who, in the midst of all her sorrows, granted her the solace (and oh how great a one!) of a loving friend and companion.'—Pp. 229—231.

Sorrow then came, in some form not explained, but occupying a year 'of unmitigated, helpless, hopeless woe,' and ill health followed,—hæmorrhage from the throat, but supposed to be from the lungs, and therefore to threaten life. The prospect of death in her weak state caused her, as she describes, an overwhelming terror at the first apprehension of it: nor does she express, and does not desire us to suppose, that she felt any of that trust and hope in the Redeemer, which to the Christian removes the sting of death. It was a sensation almost to overpower her reason, had it not been tempered by a fresh form of religious excitement concurrent with these sensations, and to which she had been, for some time previous, devoted. This in some degree diverted the mind from this 'burden almost too heavy to be borne,' and was one in itself eminently suited for such a mind in such a crisis.

Many will remember how, rather more than twenty years ago, Cambridge was disturbed by the pretensions of the Irvingite sect. Before this, the report of what was going on at Glasgow—the professed revival of the gift of miracles—had reached her; and though at the moment this sounded to her a dream of fanaticism, the restlessness of her heart, the little aid which she received from religion as she then held it, soon turned her mind towards the new manifestation, 'to inquire if anything in this direction had a gleam of comfort in it.' It is curious to note here that it was not evidence that really convinced this lady, but this previous intention to believe; the temper of credulity, in fact.

'I was yearning for something that came closer to the wound, and applied to it some more successful balm of healing than I could find in expositions of doctrine. I wanted a living monitor, an ever present rebuker, to still the irritated feelings, which, in their present condition of perpetual pain, the slightest word of opposition would rouse to degrading exhibitions of ungoverned wrath, that added to my other sorrows the anguish of a wounded conscience. Well,—too well, did I know the nature and the power of my soul's disease; and again and again I asked, "Is there no balm in Gilead; is there no physician there?"

'I do not say that there was not much that was good and true in the religious views of those whose ministry I attended;—it was impossible that it should be without great value, imparted as it was, by faithful and sincere servants of God, whose whole life and labours were devoted to the promulgation of what they conceived to be everlasting truth.'—P. 234.

While in this state of feeling, a Mr. M—— arrived at the University, there to spend the time of his furlough from India. He will be recognised as the Mr. Macan who performed afterwards such feats of fanaticism there. Our authoress instantly sought him out, and describes her first interview. He related to her some miracles which he had himself witnessed, which, curiously enough, she thinks it was impossible not to believe, because his testimony was so decidedly and soberly given. ‘Nothing could be further removed from fanaticism or enthusiasm,’ and yet in the course of that same evening,

‘when he read the Scriptures, and, more particularly, when he went to prayer, he became terribly excited; breaking out, in the latter act, into the most awful, unearthly burst of sound I ever listened to, and which actually made me shiver with fear. Both A—— and I, as soon as he was gone, agreed that this could never be of God; and if not, that it must assuredly be of Satan: for, beyond all question, it was not in the power of man, unassisted by some sort of spiritual agency, to send forth such a voice, as, without any exaggeration, shook the room in which we were.’—P. 236.

All sources speak of this astonishing power of noise in the professors of this sect; even delicate women, with ordinarily soft, well-controlled voices, being able, when under the supposed influence, to terrify the listeners by the force of mere sound—one, we must suppose, of the many unexplored mysteries of our nervous system. The writer was probably at this time no very good judge (though she values herself on discernment of character) of a sober and trustworthy deportment; others would not have observed the discrepancy she notices between this Macan’s natural and inspired manner; he being, in fact, on all occasions fanatical; a denunciator and destroyer; an habitual pretender to prophesy, and so ignorant as neither to know, nor to be capable of instruction in, the most obvious and palpable facts. Though professing to have been somewhat repelled by this first manifestation of spiritual influence, which should surely have withheld our authoress from further interest in the man, the intercourse was carried on, and she soon found herself more favourably impressed, and very much struck by his arguments, that the indwelling power of the Holy Spirit in the heart of the believer should manifest itself in some gift. He was already making converts. Mrs. S—— and her daughters were fervent believers; and our authoress and A—— were still divided, when a fresh advocate arrived in the person of Mrs. C——; herself, the alleged example of a great miracle, having been raised to perfect health from a lingering consumption. She and her husband had been sent for from Scotland by ‘a lady of rank residing at B——, eighteen miles from Cambridge,’ a description which at once points out Lady Olivia Sparrow and

her house at Buckden, who had applied to Mr. Irving for a married couple to superintend her school and visit her poor. Here this lady, it has been said, kept a sort of menagerie of nonconformists. Mr. Irving, therefore, might have thought himself a valuable contributor, for in this case he sent an acknowledged prophetess. Our authoress lost no time in making her acquaintance. She, and A——, and a gentleman who had 'known the gifted persons' at Glasgow, went over to pay their respects; and though they witnessed no manifestation, she returned home much solemnized in spirit. Mrs. C—— was a tall and handsome woman of six-and-twenty, and her describer's natural penetration, and the still partially clinging delusion, causes some confusion in her account. In fact her innermost judgment detected imposture in this pretender's manner; but she warded off the suspicion, and now attributes to self-deception more than the plea will bear. Indeed sometimes she herself speaks as if still a believer to the full. A few weeks after this, she received an invitation from Mrs. C—— to spend a few days with her, which she accepted; and went. But the excitement of highly-raised expectations did not make our friend dead to the discomforts of a long period of waiting for her hosts after her arrival; during which she thought tenderly of her unusual separation from A——, (which probably means from home comforts, on which she was growing daily more dependent,) and wished many times she had not gone. Mr. and Mrs. C—— at length came, their delay having been caused by a manifestation on the part of Mrs. C—— at the great lady's breakfast-table, which had been disputed by a London divine then present, to the unspeakable disgust of the prophetess. In this frame of mind, Mrs. C—— was disposed to welcome a more docile subject, and at once gave her own account of what had passed:—

'She was seated by me on the sofa during the narration of this matter; which, having been amply discussed, some remark of mine occasioned her to take my hand, as if in token of sympathy with what I said. She retained it so long, that I began to feel a degree of embarrassment, which was augmented into dread, when I perceived her to cover her eyes with her disengaged hand, and sink into a long and profound silence. Mr. C—— also ceased to converse. It was really an awful contiguity in which I found myself: but being in a measure prepared for a demonstration at any moment, I was not so wholly taken aback as I otherwise should have been, when she at length broke out with a loud and sudden burst of the unknown tongue. Wholly unknown indeed was it to me; but it sounded something like the Greek which I had occasionally heard recited in the Senate House. It lasted but a very little time, and was succeeded by short and frequently repeated sentences in good intelligible English, and all of the most cheerful and encouraging nature. "Ye are his witnesses—ye are his witnesses," I remember was one of them. After declaiming in this way some time with her eyes closed, she went off into singing a hymn in a voice of triumphant joy, that was inexpressibly delightful.

‘It strangely, but profitably affected me. Mr. C—— had long been kneeling in prayer before she ended; and irresistible was the impulse that inclined me to unite with him. I shall never say, nor think otherwise, than that it was a glorious, beautiful outbreak that had come upon us; and impossible was it for me then, and equally impossible is it for me now, to believe, but that whatever spirit might be the original prompter of the act, the mighty power of God overcame all evil in it, and rendered it one full fraught with blessing to the souls of His poor, ignorant, helpless creatures. Never—no never, had my parched spirit so satisfactorily drank of living water, and been refreshed. Tears, but not of bitterness, tears that soothed and benefited me, almost rained from my eyes; and when she ceased, it was an act of instinct for me to go up and kiss, and bless her, for the season of good she had been the means of bringing to my withered heart.’
—Pp. 242, 243.

There is something not a little inconsistent in this lady’s professed reverence for truth, for which she seems to think she possesses a patent, and her conviction of herself deriving good from falsehood and delusion; but we let this pass. Mrs. C——’s ‘very countenance was altered and lighted up by a radiance that had something divine in it;’ that is, we must suppose her spirits were relieved and cheered by the presence of a dupe after the morning’s suspicions of her professed gift of tongues. They were to dine with Lady ——; and here the comfort of the dinner-table, or rather the dessert, for the servants had left the room, was disturbed by another marvellous outbreak,—a sort of proceeding to which our authoress’s love of comfort and order made her singularly alive:—

‘I was witness also to another, on the morning I left, and which occurred at the breakfast table of Lady ——. I felt certain that it would not be possible for these abrupt and strange interruptions to domestic comfort to be long tolerated. Much as I believed myself to be edified by the particular exhibition of her gift which had greeted my own arrival, I confess I should have been sorry to have dwelt in any close and constant association with a person invested with such mysterious attributes, and liable to make such a sudden and perplexing manifestation of them. I was not at all surprised, therefore, to receive a letter from Mr. C——, a few weeks after I returned home, informing me that he had received his dismissal from her ladyship; that he was about to quit B—— on such a day, and that he and his wife would pay me a short visit in their way to London, where they were going to be Mr. Irving’s guests, till their way was opened elsewhere.’
—Pp. 244, 245.

Under every circumstance of life people must eat; and all must have been alive some time or other to the strangeness of the fact and the incongruity of the summons to this duty breaking in upon scenes of high-wrought excitement. But nevertheless, there is something grotesque in this blending of breakfast and dinner and tea with prophecy, and in the natural connexion which there seemed to exist between them. Obedient to this law, when our authoress received the announcement, she felt it an imperative duty to give a tea-party, in order to indulge

the curiosity of all the religious people she knew to get a sight of this very remarkable lion. And (we have been informed) in a very sibylline mode did our lady rebuke all who would not attend her party and exposed the pretence of tongues; 'behold, ye despisers, and perish,' being the favourite text. The party assembled were doomed, as on so many similar occasions, to be disappointed: 'the prophetess was not only silent, but absolutely dull; 'the whole thing, as far as she was concerned, was a dead failure.' A dead failure was not likely to be patiently endured by so great a lover of excitement and effect as our authoress, nor was she in the habit of concealing any annoyance under which she laboured. It is evident, therefore, that she showed herself in very ill humour with her guests, confessing herself to a degree of 'fretfulness thrown over her spirit' which induced her to sit in a room by herself and leave her guests to their own resources. But Mrs. C—— had weapons of defence and retaliation which were beyond our lady's powers of resistance. Even while sitting in her private room, the sounds of 'a manifestation,' like the ravings of insanity, reached her from the drawing-room. An irresistible force, as she expresses it, drove her into the presence of the prophetess:—

'I perceived that she was sitting with her eyes closed, and giving utterance, not to anything in the unknown tongue, but, as usual, to short and frequently repeated sentences, to which Mr. C——, standing near her, was listening with fixed and reverential attention. I sat down, with feelings much like those of a culprit on whom a heavy sentence of punishment was passing; for, that the message was to me, I felt a deep and solemn conviction. It spoke of tremendous suffering for the flesh, and fleshly will; which "must be purified!" "it *must* be purified!" Again and again these words were uttered; as were those that followed—"It must be by fire!—it must be by fire!" "God's will be done!" I thought, and so I prayed; and overwhelming as was the earthquake (for such it seemed) that shook my soul,—the "still small voice" was not wholly drowned in the convulsion.'—Pp. 247, 248.

We feel it to be disingenuous in our authoress, who records all this, and its influence upon herself, and is forced in fact to own a delusion, never to confess that counsel was given her at this time, to which others as deceived as herself listened, and were preserved from subsequent error; but she denounced all living counsellors, would follow guides of her own choice,—and even now would, we doubt not, be ready to defend her course. In the present exigency she asked advice of Mrs. C——, who probably had no gift at giving it,—for though our author calls it wise, she passes off to the superior wisdom to be found in the works of two writers who began now to exercise influence over her mind,—we believe, solely because they fell in with a rising state of feeling; one, William Law, and the other, Isaac Pennington, one of the primitive Quakers. From the latter book she

quotes largely, and with an evident expectation of impressing the reader. She compares it favourably with the counsel of Mrs. C——, which she calls complicated and external, and which consisted in a string of ‘doctrinal texts.’ Now no doubt an injudicious classification of passages of Scripture often neutralizes their value, but here she seems to expect her readers, who are not under her circumstances, to value her quotations, which are *human* texts to them, coming separate and detached, above the divine texts which she contrasts with them. Whatever is true or valuable in the passages she quotes, she *might* have known all her life from innumerable parts of Scripture, only here diluted, mystified, and sometimes perverted into a dreamy Quietism. To give an example—‘What living direction,’ she exclaims, ‘did I find in such sentences as these!—

“It is good for thy spirit, and greatly to thy advantage, to be much and variously exercised by the Lord And oh, learn daily, more and more, to trust Him, and hope in Him, and not to be affrighted with any amazement; nor to be taken up with the sight of the present thing . . .”

“And though sin overtake, yet, let not that bow down; nor let the eye open in thee, that stands poring at that Only do thou sink into, or at least pant after, the hidden measure of life (he means the Holy Spirit) which is not in that which distresseth, disturbeth, and filleth thee with thoughts, fears, troubles, anguish, darkness, terrors, and the like. No, no! but in that which inclines to the patience, to the stillness, to the hope, to the waiting, to the silence before the Father.”—Pp. 249, 250.

The next evening of Mrs. C——’s visit was spent at Mrs. S——’s, where there was a large assemblage of the religious world. Our authoress cannot trust herself to speak of the dreadful excitement which characterised this meeting. She returned home, thankful that her guest was to leave next day, and yet, as it seems, in no way inclined to renounce the delusion. Her illness soon after assumed an alarming form, and kept her to a sick-couch, to which, for many months, she was more or less confined; and after this, though the Irvingite proceedings were duly reported to her,—she could not, in the same way, be a sharer in them. But the family of S—— were entirely engrossed; as she says, a spirit of emulation had been stirred up in them all, which, acting on their ‘intense pride and limited experience, caused it to possess all the evil and none of the good of Mrs. C——’s case,’ and which, we must infer from her words, led to unquestionable mischief. A—— was as much ensnared as the rest; and this new occupation seems to have had the effect of estranging her from her patroness, who soon detected a change of manner and a less devoted attachment. A——, indeed, seems to have possessed very little patience with her for being ill at all, when faith alone was needed to be well again. Mr. Macan was in the same mind, for to be ill was little less than sin in the eyes of

that 'good man.' So, after a while, she tried their recipe: rose at six o'clock one March morning, and went to a prayer-meeting,—nor, for a little while, took any harm from the effort. Her doctor, in disgust, discontinued his visits; but at length the illness returned much worse than ever, and she had to give in. She announced that she would not leave her house again, nor did she for two years. But though she had no experience of the efficacy of this system, she continued its adherent, and now confesses,—

'I could fill a volume with narrating the many wild, offensive, and preposterous actions into which the influence of a scrupulous conscience has often led me; insomuch, that I am persuaded, that in many instances, the strangeness of my conduct was only pardoned on the score of my being *non compos mentis*. In fact, when the mind is drawn into that position of thought which represents the abolishing of common sense, and the reason of things, as a religious duty, there seems to be no protection for it from a liability to adopt such measures as the generality of persons would be inclined to attribute to insanity.

'I quite well recollect on a particular occasion, when I was considering whether, on the whole, it would not be a proper sacrifice to duty to burn my pianoforte, I was only arrested by the remembrance that it must be done in the open air, and that some one or another, concluding it an act of madness, would rush to prevent its accomplishment. My beautiful collection of music was, under the wild influences of those wild times, when Mr. M— burnt his books by the dozen, given to the servants to light the fires with; and for many years after, I considered it unlawful to touch my pianoforte; in fact it is only within the last five years that I have fully ventured to renew my music.'—Pp. 254, 255.

We need not pursue the vagaries of this wretched fanaticism: she describes herself as totally embondaged, and terrified by the most contemptible means: she dared not dispute the high spiritual attainments of A—— and others, till, from the dark hints thrown out, we must infer that the wretched results of their course became too evident to be longer resisted: and gradually, as the disturbance, folly, and distraction which all this causes, wears out her energy and spirit, she sinks into the Quietism which it is the object of this volume to set forth.

A—— she was obliged at length to dismiss; though, in spite of very clear indications of the necessity and duty of doing so, she still had fanatical scruples; or, as we rather think, pride made difficult such a practical admission of the error and failure of this wild delusion, which even now she will scarce absolutely abandon. Mr. Simeon, as it is well known, had from the first preached and laboured against it, and a great sorrow and perplexity, no doubt, it was to him, to see so many of his converts and disciples ensnared by so gross a deceit. Her allusions to him at this time are in anything but an amiable spirit, for she cannot forgive his having been all along in the right.

‘ Mr. Simeon and his allies had long stood aloof from me; for I need not say, that the introduction of the subject of the gifts into any part of his dominions, was high treason, and to be punished with the utmost rigour of the law. I had been totally discarded from his favour about two years previous to this time, for presuming to lend a book of Mr. Erskine’s, called “The Freeness of the Gospel,” to one of his female disciples, after he had taken the trouble, not only of talking to me for the space of two hours, one evening at the house of Mrs. D—, upon the dangerous and unorthodox tenor of the work,—but also after he had written down on paper, and given me his criticisms upon it.’—P. 265, 266.

‘ A few months previous to the period to which I am now alluding, when I was exceedingly ill, and supposed to be fast sinking, I had said to a lady who was making me a morning call, and who was speaking of Mr. Simeon, that I was grieved at his displeasure;—adding (but only as if I were thinking aloud, and without the slightest desire, or supposition, that the words would be repeated to him), “I should like to be at peace with him before I die.” Greatly was I surprised, and, truth to say, vexed, when a few days afterwards, he called in his carriage at my door, having been induced to do so by this lady’s report of what I had said about him.’—Pp. 266, 267.

He was sent away for this time, but kindly called again.

‘ The very way in which he entered the room, and the rueful length of his countenance,—a countenance on which I perceived a variety of not the most pleasing emotions, occasioned me involuntarily to draw back as he approached, and in the most mournful of tones, asked me “how I found myself?” He had not sat long by my side, when he expressed a hope “that I was now fully aware of the delusions of those persons with whom I had been associated;” meaning, as I was at no loss to perceive, Mrs. C— in particular.

‘ As yet I was not by any means fully aware of it; so I took the liberty to express a doubt upon the subject of the delusions he mentioned. Poor man, the anger that quivered in every feature! as I calmly, but decidedly expressed my sentiments respecting Mrs. C—, of whose pretensions to miraculous endowment, I said, I could not judge; but whose powerful influence upon my own mind, and whose prophetic message to me in my own house, had left impressions of her being a servant of God, which rendered it impossible for me to regard her with any sentiments but those of respect.

‘ He soon ended his visit, by asking me if I wished him to go to prayer? a suggestion to which I assented, only because I did not very well know how to avoid doing so; but had I been aware of the spirit with which he was about to enter upon the holy act, I should have preferred giving him any degree of offence, rather than have permitted it. Such a prayer as it was! Such an invocation for (as he phrased it) “this thy creature on the borders of eternity,”—or, as his tone and manner said, “on the borders of perdition,”—oh, such an address to God, for a poor soul whose every waking moment was at that time a breathing of heart for her heavenly Father’s help, to “turn her from darkness unto light,”—it was fearful to think of! That he *intended* it for good, is all that can be said about it; and, that, God be thanked! he was not the final adjudicator of my doom, was the only comfort it afforded me.’—Pp. 267—269.

She describes herself at this period as friendless, which we cannot wonder at. The Professor, indeed, with resolute good

nature, paid her periodical visits to inquire after her health, but only for a few minutes at a time, and hat in hand, on account of his numerous engagements,—or, more likely, from dread of any useless discussion; and all the while she was perplexed whether this intercourse with the world, which no doubt, from the knowledge of his tacit disapproval, rather irritated her, was consistent with her profession. After A——’s unwilling departure, whose high religious pretensions and the neglect more engrossing interests had induced, had alike spoiled for her office, our friend sinks into a not unnatural serenity of mind, and a feeling of repose new to her, which ushers in the last religious aspect of this singular career.

Weak health and an exhausted spirit—a spirit weary of contest and perpetual irritation, and a body enjoying a happy respite from pain and nervous excitability,—may very naturally produce, for a time, a kind of trancelike repose; and this, encouraged, may generate the state of ‘passivity,’ which is our authoress’s present standard of the highest religion. It is better to be calm than violent, and therefore this is an amendment upon the former state; and any attempt at self-regulation is to be preferred to self-abandonment; but beyond this we cannot enter into her view of the spirituality of such a condition of mind: it is neither scriptural nor rational. In her excited description there are indications of the same wilfulness in another development, the same estranged and inimical posture of mind towards others, the same dependence on self; and this self-dependence forming itself into a doctrine so as to shut out by formal barriers those outward aids to faith and practice to which a less conscious indifference had been previously opposed. We may confidently pronounce on the falsehood of that rapture which assists the mind to discard a positive creed, and to be indifferent to the facts of revealed truth. In the following passage she is describing the state she then aimed at:—

‘I am labouring to empty my mind of all thoughts, all remembrances, and to become, in every sense of the word, “dead to the world, and alive only unto God.”

‘And now it is that those parts of Scripture which particularly point to a quiet waiting upon the Lord, come home to me as a message from heaven. I keep a Bible with marginal references always by my side; and, as a particular text is suggested to me, I turn to look for it. I am sufficiently well acquainted with Scripture, to fix immediately upon the place where I am to find it; and when I do find it, it guides me, most likely, to many more of the same refreshing nature. I have thus, for the present, got a little sweet food; the food which an inward want and wish directed me to look for. I then lay my book down, close my eyes, and give myself up to the impression it has left upon my mind. I begin to understand the meaning of such passages as “My soul, wait thou still upon God.” I begin also to comprehend more clearly, many of the monitions of a like kind, in the good Quaker’s book. I find within me an innate repugnance to everything that

is merely notional, and of the nature of which I have no living and sensible experience. I pass whole days lying upon my sofa with my eyes closed, and many sleepless nights upon my bed, in the constant mental repetition of a few simple words, such as " Lord, meeken me! Lord, quiet me! "

' I speak deliberately, and under a consciousness that what I say is known to the Searcher of hearts, when I state that I have many times at the close of a day thus passed, retired for the night, with my interior nature so denuded of every earthly thought and feeling, that it seemed to me all white and transparent, and as though I were almost unclothed of the body; a condition so beautiful and blessed, that I never felt it for the shortest interval, without trembling at the possibility of its being disturbed by any outward intrusion.'—Pp. 258, 259.

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' It was thus, in suffering, in silence, in solitude, and in unceasing prayer, that a seed of divine truth was developed in the depth of my heart, which has never from that time been wholly lost. I trouble myself nothing with this or the other creed or notion. I hold to that which God himself has taught me.'—Pp. 260, 261.

In the intimate and mysterious connexion that exists between body and mind, the one may be brought to act upon the other, so as to produce similar effects by apparently very different means. The rule just given is merely one of these mesmeric influences: prayer loses its nature, and becomes a mere charm, as here recommended; and we maintain that these perpetually repeated ejaculations with closed eyes, are not at all more rational nor more conducive to a truly religious frame of mind, than that system pursued by the mystic monks of Athos so many hundred years ago, and now branded as ignorant superstition. These men, in compliance we are told with the opinion of ancient doctors, that a celestial light lay concealed in the deepest retirements of the mind, used to sit every day during a certain space of time, in a solitary corner, with their eyes eagerly and immovably fixed upon the middle region of the stomach, and were persuaded that in this posture they found a divine light beaming forth from the soul, which diffused through their hearts inexpressible sensations of pleasure and delight. We believe them to have been mistaken in supposing this state a really spiritual one; it was a *natural* result of certain ill-understood, and, apparently, inadequate causes, and the same we judge to be the case here.

Some estimate may be drawn of the reality and value of this supposed highly spiritual state by the means through which it could at any time be disturbed and broken. A divine influence would surely protect and raise the soul above the power of petty and trifling annoyance, so that it should not succumb at the first breath of outer air; therefore nothing proves more the unreality of our authoress's whole mode of viewing this period of her life, than that she shows no sense of the absurdity of the confession, that the whims and ill-temper of a troublesome housemaid had always the power of dispelling these glorious manifestations. There is

a ludicrous gravity in the description of the sufferings and trials this young woman inflicted upon her; and her temper is still unequal to the task of dispassionately describing them. We have no doubt this Lucy was provoking; having taken her into her service from a Female Penitentiary, she had no right to expect much propriety of deportment, amiability of character, or power of self-government. But the way in which their two minds clashed, the intimate and equal mental relation Lucy contrived to establish between her intellectual mistress and herself, gives us a considerable idea of her cleverness. There is clearly, too, another side to the story, if Lucy could only write a book to give it.

When A—— first left, the ‘crafty creature,’ as Lucy is denominated, was most officious in her attentions, and wished to be allowed to sit in her mistress’s room, so as to be always in attendance; but this, though allowed for a time, became a troublesome restraint.

‘Not choosing to be afflicted with the company of Lucy, I soon gave her her dismissal; an affront upon her pride which the fierce-tempered girl neither forgot nor forgave; and as her situation afforded her the opportunity to tease me, she did not fail to avail herself of it, by indulging in a succession of such spiteful tricks as could scarcely have entered into the imagination of a less wicked person than herself.

‘She soon detected my desire for as much silence as I could obtain. Whenever, therefore, she was out of humour, which was almost every day, (for she detested the dullness of the house since A—— went, though they were always disputing while she stayed,) she had a fine store of artillery to direct against me, in driving chairs and tables about the adjoining room, under pretext of sweeping it. Then, she would be continually coming up with messages respecting things of which the cook could have informed her as well as myself. The most extraordinary things were laid in the way to catch my eye, when by way of exercise, as I grew better, I took a turn out of one room into the other. Bits of old broken combs, cords, sealing wax, and anything that should cause me to speak, and say, “Don’t leave this rubbish here;” and then she would say, “I’m sure I know nothing about it;” and try to get into an argument on the subject. Anything, in short, to stir me up, and set me talking, (a thing I was labouring to avoid,) was delightful to her. But the most trying of all her persecutions, was the determined way in which she *would* tell me all the news of the town that she could pick up, ostensibly for my diversion; though I repeatedly told her that I wished to know nothing of what was going on; especially did I desire to hear of none of the proceedings that were taking place at the house of Mrs. S——. Like it, or not, she would contrive to bring out her intelligence in some way or another.

‘Not a beggar came to the door, or any creature from whom she could extract a message to me, that she did not disturb me by appearing with it. But truly, as in the case of the Israelites under Pharaoh, the more they were vexed, the better they prospered, so, by endeavouring to turn this girl’s persecution into a means of growing in patience and forbearance, it was converted into a rich and overflowing blessing. With one noble lesson, never to be lost, it largely enriched my experience. It showed me the glory and exactness of God’s righteousness, in the retributive justice of

which it was a token; for, most impossible was it for me to contemplate myself thus left with a selfish, ungrateful creature, bringing me perpetually under the harrow of her evil temper, without remembering how many wounds my own besetting sins had occasioned me to make upon the peace of others! I thought of my parents, and of many more; but most of all, I thought of my poor A——, such as she was when first she came to live with me. I remembered her devoted, never-failing, patient love, and how often it was met with unkindness, how often repelled by harshness, when the irritability of my nature, exasperated by its trials, vented itself on whatever crossed its path, and crushed to atoms many a precious thing, even though it were affection as rare and valuable as hers. I beheld all this in the light which Lucy's bitter nature diffused over it, and I "became dumb and opened not my mouth," for I saw it was the Lord's doing. But oh! the hand of mercy which brought healing through the chastisement, and saving health with every drop of anguish it administered! How glorious was my life in those days of outward sorrow! days, which if I forget, "may my right hand forget her cunning!" —Pp. 274—276.

The word 'exactness' here—the 'exactness' of God's retributive justice, betrays a sad want of perception of the magnitude of her own sins of filial disobedience: what parallel can be really drawn between the two cases? Nor do we adopt the word retribution in her sense. She was in the condition she had deliberately, and by choice, brought herself to; as for Lucy, she had a difficult part to play, and one which many a really good and valuable servant might fail in with so eccentric a mistress; and no doubt this ecstatic state, which she looks back upon with such delight, appeared by no means so sublime to lookers-on:—

'The slightest word of common discourse, brought a mist over the clearness and simplicity of my interior, which it required some hours of abstraction to dissipate. But this was a slight loss compared with the worse than bereavement which followed any demonstration of passion, or disturbed temper, that I might be betrayed into. The occasions of such an occurrence were rare; for too greatly did I prize my treasure, not to watch "lest the bands of the wicked should rob me;" but the malice of Lucy sometimes excited my anger; and then, how did she, and the spirits that ruled in her, triumph!'—Pp. 276, 277.

Twice at least in this work there is a recognition of the existence of evil spirits, an acknowledgment so at variance with some of the writer's Gnostic notions of the connexion of evil with matter *only*, that we should be at a loss to account for the inconsistency, did we not observe that in each case the demon is supposed to exist in the person of one with whom she came in contact and collision. In too many instances, the temper maintains a dismal sort of orthodoxy on this point, in spite of, and in opposition to, a generally lax creed. One hold Lucy possessed over her mistress, which may account, more than the other motives adduced, for her not being dismissed sooner: our authoress values herself on her powers of extempore prayer,

and Lucy showed some sense of the worth of these ministrations, while the civil cook down stairs was 'hard as the nether millstone:—

'I never wanted power to pray in those days; for I had wants enough, both of my own, and those around me, to spread before the Lord; and very precious oftentimes were those seasons of supplication to me; and though lamentably short-lived in their effects upon Lucy, they were not, I believe, wholly profitless in the impression they occasionally made upon her. Bad as she was, I felt far more assured of her coming under the power of my ministrations, than I did of their being beneficial to my other servant.'—P. 278.

Still further to expose the delusion of those mystic transports which furnish the only evidence of spirituality this lady's system affords, we must extract one more fond description of them in connexion with her deliverance from the world's last tie—her old friend the Professor. It is so clear, that her notion of the duty of breaking it was only a pretence. Her patience was tried by his kind visits, which certainly afforded her no pleasure; his five minutes' visits could not interfere with her spirituality, but she did not like the contact of a mind, however silently, differing from her own. It is curious to note the scantiness of her confessions of mistake, even where returning sense *must* force the knowledge of them upon her, and her quick retraction where any such is made. She has no feeling still of a great breach of *duty* towards an old friend, (her own and her father's friend,) nor of the heartless ingratitude in casting off consistent kindness:—

'It was now so well known that I would see nobody (for I dared not,—I lost so much by conversation) that, with the exception of the Professor, who still looked in for a few minutes every two or three days to ask after me, and, as I grew better, to urge upon me the duty of getting out into the air,—nobody came near me. I read no books,—I did no work;—I lay for the whole day upon my sofa with my eyes closed, and most literally, in an inward and spiritual world. I dare not say what gleams of glory, what openings, what an insight into wisdom and truth, were sometimes given to me in this total abstraction from all earthly influences. I should only be scouted as a fanatic in making the attempt; besides, the subject is too sacred. It is enough, that though that condition of mind has long passed away, under the influence of the things of time and sense, to which, in returning to common life, I also again became necessarily subject—the remembrance of it, whilst God graciously grants me the exercise of my mental powers, can never be lost.

'The last link I had to break, was my friendship with the Professor, which I then considered it to be my duty to sacrifice, but which I have lived to see was one that was not required of me. I can now perceive, that, although in his visits, the tone of his remarks were greatly in opposition to the spirituality I was seeking to establish in my habits of thought,—and that it did for a while bring with it a reminiscence of earth and earthly things that clouded and disturbed the atmosphere of my mind, I should have done better to have submitted to this interruption as coming in the course of things, and which, so far as it caused disquietude, I should

have regarded with other sources of vexation, as a means of growing in patience and self-denial. It was under a sense of apprehended duty, that, finding the Professor, though not openly saying so, yet clearly indicating by his manner, that he considered me to be living and acting under the influence of deplorable fanaticism, I wrote to him a full explanation of the sentiments that occupied my mind, and very kindly, but very decidedly, informed him, that I could see him no more.

'All was now gone, and I was wholly left alone; but my loneliness was only that which respected exterior things. I was left alone indeed, but it was in the possession of sublime peace, and occasional happiness, of which the memory is still fresh, and full of joy. And now, that the interval of nearly twenty years has granted me the means which time can afford, of perceiving where I erred in judgment, I still believe, as I confidently at the time believed, that, eccentric as my course of existence must have appeared in the eyes of almost everybody who knew me,—it was the only course by which I could have been liberated from many chains that bound me to mistake and misery. Most assuredly, also, was it the only course by which I could have been conducted to a knowledge of divine truth, which has never since been shaken by a moment's doubt.'—Pp. 279—281.

At length returning strength, and the necessity for exertion, roused her from this state. Lucy was sent away. We are told, with old maidish minuteness, of the disorder in which she left the house: 'Household linen run to rags; tea-cloths and towels used for dusters; some of them, from their appearance, having even been used to clean the fire-irons and candlesticks;' so curiously will the natural disposition peep out, where the mind supposes itself wrapt in the highest speculations. However, the poor possessed Lucy did her mistress this parting good turn by her negligence, that she forced her to exert herself in some useful manual employment. It cost some weeks in putting things into trim order again. She also made frocks and pinafores for the poor, taught her new servant to write, and once more experienced the wholesome pleasures of occupation. The return, too, to air and out-of-door objects, brought their natural charm; in short, she had been ill, and was well again; and with health came a change of feeling. The period of conscious inspiration was over, and weary of the scene of so many vicissitudes of feeling, she quitted Cambridge, which she designates as the sepulchre of her youth, her friends, every earthly joy, and finally established herself in the neighbourhood of London, by degrees returning to her long-neglected music-books and composition—in fact, to the exercise of her faculties and powers; an enjoyment which for some years she had exchanged for the excitements of fanaticism, but which, when these cooled, reasserted their claim.

We have left but little space for the exposition of the Creed that remains to her, for the due advocacy of which these 'Reminiscences' have been written, and on which now she sets up her rest. It is, in fact, the repose of a mind worn out with excite-

ment, and only bent on rejecting every form of truth which in her time she has neglected, abused, or misunderstood. Totally undisciplined, her spiritual pretensions having been always in advance—indeed, having borne no relation to her real religious attainments,—she discards what she never properly understood, and which never influenced her heart. ‘The man,’ we are taught, ‘that wandereth from the way of understanding, shall remain in the congregation of the dead.’ Indifference to truth is the natural consequence of its abuse. Dead indeed must be that system which rests on no Saviour, and finds itself sufficient for itself; and not only spiritually dead, but dead as having no organization or parts; for as the highest and noblest life is fullest of parts, contributing to, and on which depends, the completeness and beauty of the whole, so the lowest vitality is the least complex, and, as being without intricacy, the nearest approaches to inorganic matter. And on this difference must rest, as far as there is truth in the statement, the claim to greater unanimity which she asserts for those who agree with her views, which, of course, she designates, the truth:—

‘And what a remarkable testimony to the uniting power of Truth is it, that, whilst we see no end to the differences of opinion in those sectarians who build their mode of faith on the letter of Scripture;—one finding salvation only in an adhesion to this text,—another in holding fast to the tenets he declares to be propounded in another, clean contrary to it;—adult baptism with one party,—infant baptism with another,—no baptism at all with a third;—sprinkling here,—immersion there,—and nothing but the confusion of Babel everywhere;—those who turn to an inward instructor, and, as much as possible, endeavour to be guided by the voice which says, “My son, give me thy heart, and let thine eye observe my ways,” are universally of one mind, and cannot possibly be otherwise, because they acknowledge only one Lawgiver, and one law, and both of these divine.’—Pp. 133, 134.

As she does not explain who think with her—who *are* of this ‘one mind,’ we do not see that the assertion thus pompously put forth, can mean more than might be said by any of the religionists she despises, as belonging to Babel. Every sect has adherents; and these are, in the nature of things, agreed on the points on which they unite. However, anything like a statement of truth,—of truth put into terms,—is offensive to her; truth, made a thing, put into words, to be touched, looked at, handled, *realized*. It is only as an abstraction and a shadow that she reverences it. It must be noted that in the following passage, to imprison truth can only mean to define it:—

‘Scarcely anything can be more fatal to the diffusion of Truth, than the attempting to imprison it in any way, or to subject it to the government of opinions and majorities. Truth is not the subject of opinion or vote, or

compulsion, and never can be made so. You may just as well prescribe to people how they are to love and hate, as how they are to believe.'—P. 132.

'We can no more believe a vital truth upon the testimony of another person, than we can live and breathe by his life and breath. The mind may, no doubt, have a certain quantity of notions hung upon it, just as clothes are hung upon pegs in a wardrobe; but they will always remain as distinct from, and inoperative upon, its nature, as the contents of the wardrobe are external to the nature and condition of the body. It is the office of religious education to develop, not to add. You speak (or ought to do) to the conscience, which, at once, acknowledges and agrees with what you propose, if it is in unity with the nature of Truth;—if not, it has nothing to say to you.'—P. 133.

Having here asserted that truth is nothing that can be *taught*, nothing to be received or imparted, but that it lies hid in all minds, a germ that needs only to be developed, she elsewhere ventures on one of the definitions she so much deprecates:—

'Now, what is it to be in Him that is true? Is it not to be led by the Spirit of Truth—the great "I AM?" Is it not to feel a certain *sureness*, quite distinct from our natural state of being?'—P. 23.

So that what we are *sure* of—that alone is truth; and on this principle she condemns all outward search or inquiry. We are to keep ourselves in a state of passivity (p. 23). We are not 'to let our minds run out after help in time of trouble.' That man is despised who on a prospect of death for which he is unprepared, 'sets himself to his *prayers* or his *priest*, according to the fashion in which he has been trained,' (p. 135.) No, we must not look out of ourselves even up to God our Saviour, who, lifted up, draws all men unto Him; but must search into our own hearts for the presence of God in the soul, guiding without revealing itself. And this Spirit is not given to us by renewal or by the imparting of a new nature—for while she uses these words she explains them away—but it is something innate—a part of ourselves, which needs only to be developed:—

'And as it is quite certain from the wisdom of God, as well as from the testimony of His dealings, that He gives to every created thing whatever is needful to its allotted condition, He cannot have left us destitute of the divine germ from which this holy nature is to be elicited.'—P. 21.

In the next she gives to *training* the regenerating power. It is where she explains what a man ought to do instead of 'setting himself to his prayers:'—

'Now, had this sense of dependence been made the rule of his life, of his affections, and of his prospects, had it been cultivated like any other of his innate good principles, would it not have done its own blessed and natural work, and linked him to his heavenly Father just as a child is linked by nature to its earthly parent? Assuredly it would. There is a natural necessity for the soul to depend upon God; it makes itself felt in that yearning for divine help and pity, and that instinctive turning towards the Almighty, which always accompanies affliction.'—Pp. 135, 136.

And to justify this view she distorts a passage of Scripture, abandoning the word '*received*':—

'Beautiful is that word of the Apostle, "ye have received" (that is, ye have known and cherished in yourselves) "the spirit of adoption, whereby we cry, Abba, Father."'—P. 136.

Again, in expounding Tit. iii. 5, she enlarges on the simplicity of what is set before the soul as the '*means of that redemption* which it wants,' where surely, if anywhere, we should find some mention of the Atonement; but no, this '*means*' is simply the workings of the Spirit on the conscience:—

'It cannot be accomplished by works of righteousness undertaken in the creature's own strength and will, and as such, works which must, necessarily, be defiled by the influence of pride and self-conceit;—but it is done by a process which is figuratively designated as the "washing of regeneration." That is to say, "God our Saviour" in His mercy and love to His fallen and ignorant creature, draws near to him in the secret recesses of his heart and conscience, and there in a still small voice warns him from evil, or prompts him to good, by ever saying to him as occasions for doubt and danger arise, "This is the way, walk ye in it;" and thus, "renewing him unto good works, by the power of the Holy Spirit" measurably bestowed according to his need.'—P. 129.

It is to our own soul, as though it were the only scene or home of God's presence, that we are constantly referred:—

'The chief business of a wise man's life, is to aim at distinguishing this divine inspiration in the depths of his own soul.'—P. 40.

'From that time to the present hour, I can relish no reading, no teaching, no conversation on religious topics, no views of morality, no representations of human life, which do not recognise this view of "turning to God, and cleaving to those good thoughts and motions which proceed from His Holy Spirit dwelling and working in us," as the one work and business of the soul that yearns for deliverance from evil. As Mr. Law suggests, and, as an axiom to which all that is within me yields a ready Amen, I "seek for no other road, I call nothing else the way to God, but solely that which His eternal, all-creating Word and Spirit work within me.'"—P. 105.

We are, then, not to look for truth from a revelation, but from something in ourselves, the one monitor, in which alone, as it would seem, there can be no difficulty, mistake, or falsehood: and which, according to her own showing, exists without revelation, and independent of it. Thus, when she says 'that the '*knowledge and possession of divine truth is all that a rational 'and responsible being has to seek for,*' it has no connexion with anything external, anything out of ourselves. Nor, when she speaks of God's word, does she, as she very distinctly explains, refer in any way to His revealed word; stating, at the same time, what, and what only, she supposes to be the purposes of the written word:—

'No;—I am alluding to that ever-living, ever-speaking Word of God which is not printed upon paper,—not imprisoned in language,—not called the Bible, though I thankfully acknowledge that we have cause to love and

reverence the Bible for informing us of its nature, office, and dwelling-place.'—Pp. 96, 97.

Having thus narrowed the whole of religion to one infinitesimal point, she gives rules by which to concentrate the mind and the thoughts upon this one object;—rules which, along with others, as only a part of self-discipline, might not be open to quarrel, as being congenial to some minds,—but, as the one great act of religion, the *only* one enforced, fanatical and dangerous.

'No lesson indeed of a practical kind (and all lessons ought to be practical) requires to be so often repeated, as that which enjoins upon the mind a state of passivity;—for what an electric thing is it!'—P. 23.

If indeed the mind is constituted to take the 'wings of the morning,' why, we would ask, should the Gnome of Quietism shut it up in his small and narrow phial?—

'Who is there that sets himself to the task of steadily watching his thoughts for the space of one hour, with the view of preserving his mind in a simple, humble, healthful condition, but will speedily discern in the multi-form self-reflecting, self-admiring emotions, which, like locusts, are ready to "eat up every green thing in his land," a state as much opposed to simplicity and humility, as night is to day?'—Pp. 23, 24.

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'We may, I believe, rely upon it, that it is not from reflection or study, or "heaping up to themselves teachers," that persons become the subjects of moral renovation; but from small endeavours, suggested by *small* internal monitions, about the *small* moment just before them.

'I have such strong faith in the power that attends a habit of confining the attention to the present moment, that I should be disposed to make it the ground-work of every system of education. Have a work for every moment, and mind the moment's work.'—P. 37.

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'Wait!—Wait!—Ah, those two words, what salvation is in them! You can never do better than *act them out* at least *once* every hour. Observe, also, how hasty impulses subside of themselves, if not shaken and jarred into sustained vibrations by the furious will; and you will soon perceive, the inestimable value of being still and motionless as death, under their first concussions.'—P. 39.

This sitting and watching our thoughts, as they come out of their holes, as a cat watches for a mouse; or, clerk-like, making an inventory of them, is not the way to mend them. The *I* and the *thou* are too much one, for any good effect. There is a morbid self-examination as well as a healthful one. Healthful self-examination must always lead to action. Thoughts must not live and die in themselves. They must go out into *acts* of prayer, acts of self-renunciation, *acts* of contrition, forgiveness, and charity. If we have bad thoughts, we must not ponder over them, but drive them away by good deeds. The wise mind, needing a remedy for its corruptions, seeks for assistance, and never sits down with itself and by itself, reviewing thought after thought as they arise, and merely reviewing them. It is only engendering new enemies to do so. Rather it is up and

doing, asking, 'What aid can I supplicate?'—'What prayer can I say?'—'What Scripture can I read?'—'What counteracting grace can I ask of Heaven?'

But it is time to bring our remarks to a close. We have traced the career of a nature and temper entirely at variance with those dispositions which it is the Church's office to develop. It is the great contrast of Self-reliance and Humility. The Church admits her members to a company; she chooses solitude. The Church points to a Saviour; she contemplates her heart. The Church presents us with means of grace; she, believing herself in herself to possess all things, despises them. The Church gives us the Bible, and bids us submit to it as God's messenger to man; her fancied knowledge comes all from within. The Church enforces a Creed; with her there is no external truth. The Church admits to a service which makes free; her unchastened freedom ends in bondage. The Church bids even the pure conscience and the single aim to say with the Apostle, 'I know nothing of myself, yet am I not hereby justified;' that 'there are many devices in the heart of man, but the counsel of the Lord it shall stand;' that 'all the ways of a man are clean in his own eyes, but the Lord weigheth the spirits;' pointing to an eternal throne of judgment: she states as 'the great desideratum, the possession of a well-grounded confidence in the dictates of an interior and infallible guide;' vauntingly contrasting the teaching of this guide with the most excellent of truths conveyed to us with the alloy of human transmission, or, indeed, any material intervention whatever.

It is, in fact, the unteachable spirit, the temper that will not learn,—justifying indocility, and setting it up as a doctrine. By our authoress's own showing, she has *learnt* nothing. It is with a sort of boast that she renounces all that others have tried to teach her: she tells us what her first innate conviction was, and what her last matured judgment; and, except for a little more system and a little less faith, we can see no difference. All the vast, eternal truths of revelation, are alike without influence or prominence in both. It is a reproduction in a modern, popular, and illogical form, of an ancient heresy, which has been explained in the following formula—'Desisting from seeking God nature, and what belongs to them, seek thou thyself from thyself, and say, My God is my mind, my thought, my soul, and body,—and thou wilt find thyself in thyself as the one and the whole.' We do not say that it is thus with the inmost heart of our authoress, who may not know the tendency and direction of her crude and sometimes inconsistent opinions; but such must be the ultimate end and conclusion of the teaching of her book.

- ART IV.—1. *The Convocations of the two Provinces, &c.* By GEORGE TREVOR, M.A. Canon of York. London: J. & C. Mozley. 1852.
2. *Hand-book to Convocation.* By H. J. RHODES, M.A. London: Simpkin, Marshall & Co. 1852.
3. *The Constitutional Nature of the Convocations of the Church of England.* By the Rev. W. FRASER, B.C.L. London: Masters.
4. *Thoughts on the Revival of Convocation.* By the Rev. E. ELIOT, B.D. London: Seeleys. 1852.
5. *Shall we press for the Assembling of Convocation?* By an EX-PROCTOR. London: Seeleys. 1852.
6. *Morning Chronicle.* Nov. 13—18, 1852.
7. *Guardian.* Nov. 17 and 24, 1852.

THE month of November has hitherto been chiefly celebrated in the annals of the city of London by the prevalence of peculiar fogs, during which all who could remain at home considered it an advantage so to do. It has therefore been a quiet, uneventful month, with little to vary its monotony, but the juvenile Saturnalia of Guy Fawkes' day, and the Lord Mayor's show on the 9th. Country people, high and low, have seen but little, either of these fogs or the show, because the session of parliament has not brought up the one, nor have motives of pleasure included the other within their migratory influence.

Last November was, however, a striking contrast to these accustomed features of the month. By a strange coincidence, there were three important and unusual events concentrated within it, before one of which the ancient 'show' entirely succumbed, while the local fog was absorbed into a deluge of rain, which extended throughout the kingdom, as if the metropolitan Neptune had bid all his tributaries rise up in anger to stem, by the destructive power of their waters, this unorthodox invasion of a London November. In spite, however, of all his anger, and in spite of the sympathetic quakings of the earth itself, London never was so full. The fall of bridges, the slipping of rails, the conversion of dry land into seas, were none of them able to deter the multitudes, who were bent, with a fixed pur-

pose, on presenting themselves in their capital city. By a peculiar turn of political parties, it was necessary to hold a November session of Parliament; by a national visitation of the arm of death it became the country's duty and pleasure to carry its greatest son to an honoured grave, by means of a public funeral, on a scale never exceeded for pomp and grandeur. And in the same month it also was granted by Providence, that the Church should make a wonderful stride towards converting what, for more than a century, has been a barren form, into a substantial and vital element of her constitution.

Of all the multitudes who assembled for these various occasions of business or interest, we purpose confining our present attention to those who composed Convocation, with the various things that have been done, spoken, or written on that subject.

In our last number, while reviewing the recent election of Proctors, we expressed a strong conviction that the interest thereby manifested in the cause of Convocation, made its constitutional revival a matter of certainty. It is now our task, not to be compelled to explain away our previous boldness, but to relate actual proceedings in our Church's legal synod, which are the highest confirmation of all that we anticipated.

It is the reward of those who advocate a true and a right cause, that, if by diligence and care, they keep strictly to their legitimate ground, they find themselves wonderfully protected from the violence of hostile powers, which at a distance appeared irresistible. Some nominal friends talk of the Church as if she could only meet any external dangers by a kind of metamorphosis, for the time being, into a ghost or spirit, against which material substances have no force. This idea seems to be adopted, not from any high notions of the Church's spiritual character, but from the incumbent necessity to find an abstract Church which is able, according to divine promises, to resist dangers, although they are too faithless to believe that the ordinary and visible definition of the Church has that strength. Such, however, is not the sense in which we discern in her a singular ability to meet the violence of enemies. We mean by *the Church*, a real visible institution, which, like any other corporation or interest, has to fight its own way, in its own material substance, against visible difficulties. We do not allege a general profession of the spiritual character of the Church (however deeply we feel that) as any pretext for disregarding the struggles of Christ's body militant on earth. We trust that the example of the *Incarnate* Word has taught us the reality of His Church's visible existence here upon earth, exposed to the same trials and hardships which surround things less divine.

We wish, then, to state an ordinary and practical truth, when we say that the friends of the Church, inasmuch as they have a cause peculiarly true,—and provided they advance that cause in a legitimate and careful manner,—will find themselves more safe than the world anticipates, when they steer their bark on the waves of earthly politics.

We have been led into this reflection, not only by any abstract confidence in our cause, but by marking the singular want of correct aim, or point, in any of the attacks which have been levelled at Convocation. There has been a plain and obvious reason for this, but a reason which gives us an advantage of a perfectly fair kind: we mean, the entire ignorance of our assailants, as to what they are endeavouring to hit, what its work is, or even where its actual existence is to be found. They hit with ferocious intent; they hurl great blundering missiles, or make slashing strokes; they imagine that the extinguisher is being summarily put over the struggling embers, or that, by a giant's tread, the 'little reptile' of Convocation is to be forthwith crushed, to the contempt of all beholders: but these expectations are foiled; the blows aimed, have gone over, or under, on one side or the other; but by some marvellous instinct, the object of attack has actually arrived at its scene of activity, and is doing its work.

Let the facts of the case, however, as a whole, illustrate our views, by reference to the history of the last three months; for we already suppose our readers to be acquainted with the general aspect of affairs up to that time.

The history of Convocation in the province of Canterbury during the last quarter, we shall arbitrarily divide into four parts; viz. a beginning, in the form of a sudden alarm raised by its opponents; a part, No. 2, consisting of various books and pamphlets, expressive of opinions on either side, such as might naturally be expected to usher in a period of interest; a part, No. 3, which is the real scene of action, in the ecclesiastical buildings of S. Paul's Cathedral and Westminster Abbey; and lastly, a conclusion, in which we shall refer to some few external comments on what may then be called the '*fait accompli*,' amongst which will be the reflections and annotations of the Government on the nature of what had happened.

The history of Convocation in the province of York must also claim our notice; but here we find so admirable a *simplicity* that we need hardly mark out the divisions of our subject: for in part the history of the two coincide, as having a common cause; and for the rest, the northern province does not afford very large material for a descriptive pen. In its proper place, however, we shall consider what did take place.

The first part of our present narrative, if so we may call it, has therefore to do with a serious alarm raised through the country, that Convocation was actually going to transact business. The world was going on apparently much as usual,—steadily, but only occasionally, had the Church organs, the ‘Chronicle’ and ‘Guardian,’ kept the subject of Convocation before the public, since the election of Proctors in the summer,—when ‘The Times’ newspaper, about the 17th of October, in an article meant to be very startling, announced that Lord Derby and his colleagues had resolved to advise her Majesty to permit the Houses of Convocation to sit for the despatch of business. This was like the sound of a trumpet to several other papers, such as the ‘Globe,’ ‘Daily News,’ &c. We cannot afford space to convert our pages into mere compilation from the daily press, but we cannot refrain from a short review of the article in ‘The Times’ that made this stir. It professes itself unprepared for so rash and abrupt a measure, so perilous to the Church of England, and inimical to the order and tranquillity of society. The attempt for Convocation had proceeded, it says, from the extreme High-Church party, and not from the Church of England at large. The election of Proctors was described as having been conducted with a kind of mock solemnity; while the whole constitution of these ecclesiastical assemblies was such, that to set it in motion would be the wildest freak a modern statesman could commit. This journal then proceeds to describe the extreme parties of the Church; on the one hand, it sees the priestly arrogance of Laud and Atterbury, and on the other, the tendency to lower the standard of doctrine along the declivity of dissent. A ferocious contest between these two parties is presumed to be the desired end of Convocation. It is then conceded that Lord John Russell exercised his ecclesiastical power with great imprudence; but a vivid picture is drawn of the extreme rashness of any premier who could now give opportunity for the incapacity of clerical bodies to deal with the affairs of the world, and even with the interests of their Church, in a spirit of discretion, wisdom, and decorum. The proceedings of Convocation in the beginning of the eighteenth century are described thus:—‘A handful of passionate bigots continued to challenge the rights of Parliament itself; to insult the bishops, because they were prelates of moderation and liberality; to contend for unheard-of privileges; and to exercise their unheard-of violence in thequisition and condemnation of heterodox publications.’ After alluding to Lord Derby’s ‘accustomed levity,’ and appealing to the great mass of Protestant feeling, it thus concludes:—‘We are still unwilling to believe that Lord Derby is capable of that degree of temerity and infatuation which would superadd

‘to all the secular duties and difficulties of his high position the hiving of a swarm of theological hornets, when, to use the expressive language of Mr. Hallam, “to scatter a little dust over the angry insects” is evidently the duty and the interest of the First Minister of the Crown.’ ‘The Globe’ articles we have not before us; but they kept up an incessant warfare for a whole week, bristling with horror at the imminent danger to which their pet theory, of a well-tamed and manacled State religion, was likely to be exposed to. The line taken by such writers is the surest, in the end, to promote the cause of Convocation; for it identifies—most conveniently for our own side of the question—the opponents of Convocation with the profoundest contempt even for such Church principles as are held by all except the extremest latitudinarian. We can fancy that the intense desire manifested in ‘The Globe’ to degrade the ecclesiastical character of the Church of England, would best proceed from the pen of an insidious Roman Catholic.

And now let us inquire how the cause, which we advocate, survived such stormy convulsions as were excited to overwhelm it. With all this violence of language used, and these stimulating appeals to the mob of English society, ‘The Times’ was singularly infelicitous in this attack. In the first place, there was no foundation whatever for the report, so vividly enunciated, that Lord Derby had recommended Her Majesty that Convocation should proceed to the despatch of business; and in the second place, Convocation was perfectly competent to transact business, without Lord Derby being at all concerned in the matter, or without any further licence from the Crown than the ordinary writs, issued as a matter of routine, have always granted. The perfect ignorance, therefore, under which this attack was made, caused its violence altogether to miss its aim. ‘The Morning Herald,’ for once, had the advantage of its cotemporary, being authorized to deny the assertion; while to those who were ignorant of the real nature of the case, a still further mystery was destined afterwards to encompass the meeting of Convocation, as if to protect it from its enemies. We must finish, however, the romantic history of this *rumour*. ‘The Daily News’ and ‘Morning Herald’ made strange surmises as to its origin. It was represented as the joint offspring of the Tractarians and the Stock Exchange,—‘The Morning Chronicle’ being its monthly nurse. It would then seem to have been left, delicately cradled, at the door of ‘The Times’ office, where the little foundling was received with open arms, under the false impression that it was the gift of Royalty itself. ‘The Morning Chronicle,’ in a severe but witty leader, modestly disowned its imputed share of the transaction, though admitting

how much it was flattered at the extensive influence and marvellous ingenuity ascribed to it. The public were now satisfied that Convocation was not to meet; and thus the curtain closes upon the first act of our drama.

A lull being now obtained from the outer world, which happily had many other things to occupy its attention, the controversy was for the most part restricted to those immediately interested in it; and therefore we shall here notice some few of the various publications which came out, in anticipation of the actual meeting of the Church's Synod. A single glance at these is enough to convince the most incredulous, that the cause of Convocation possesses at least that reality, of which the labour and research of intelligent men is a sure proof. They necessarily go over much the same ground, though with different degrees of completeness. Mr. Fraser's, republished from the '*Scottish Magazine*,' gives, within the compass of a small pamphlet, a great amount of historical information that is much to the point, as settling the constitutional rights and position of Convocation. The two published by Mr. Seeley, take the other side. The one by Mr. Eliot ventures into the region of history, and betrays such miserable ignorance as can only be accounted for by the existence of that peculiar obstinacy, with which, in low recrimination, assertions are made over and over again, like the words of an automaton, quite irrespective of the most overwhelming confutation they may have received. The *Ex-Proctor* is more reasonable, and on the whole we cannot but conclude that his principal objection against Convocation is, that he happens to be no longer a member of it. Mr. Caswall's *Letter* is a plain and earnest testimony in favour of the cause, and is the result of his observations across the Atlantic. '*Synodalia*' is a valuable monthly record, both of facts and opinions, commenced in November. '*The Hand-book of Convocation*' is a singular testimony to the very great interest that attaches to the whole question, and, therefore, to the sentiments of all who compose these deliberative assemblies. All the names are placed in alphabetical order, and whatever each man has said or done with reference to the subject appended thereto. It is to Convocation what the ever valuable '*Dodd*' is to Parliament. The great work, however, of the quarter, we have now to notice, is Canon Trevor's '*Two Convocations*;' it includes all the smaller ones, and condenses a mass of history, that will make it the standard book of reference, on every question that arises. A lengthened review of these publications singly is not our object, nor would it answer any specific end. We prefer stating generally, what is our own view of the controversial part of the question as represented by them in the mass.

If we could separate ourselves from the mist of local, contemporary, and personal agitation upon this subject; if we were able calmly to survey history, without exaggerating the importance of any one period, and impartially weighing the circumstances that affected each, with the various lights and shades that always checker the course of time, in our pursuit of any one study through a series of ages; the picture would, we feel sure, give much confidence to feeble hearts, and would exhibit the cause of Convocation to be founded not only on a rock of time, but to partake of the everlasting strength of the Church.

We will not endeavour to establish any particular analogies between Christian synods, and any assemblies of former covenants, or of heathen religions, either to add the testimony of revelation or of nature to our cause; for we believe it so essential a part of all religions, to have deliberative meetings concerning them, that any details of comparison would only be to satisfy curiosity; they could not strengthen the firm substance of common sense and divine justice on which this right is founded.

Beginning, then, with the history of Christ's Church, we still have 1850 years to look to as within our present survey. Now it cannot be denied that the Apostles held a synod at Jerusalem. The primitive Church followed this example, as we learn from every Church history. Then come the great period of Ecumenical Councils; and after that, the records of our own Church begin to tell us of the same universal law; of which the following passage from Canon Trevor gives an instance:—

'In this capacity Theodore, Archbishop of Canterbury, held Councils at Herudford or Hartford, A.D. 673, and at Bishop's Hatfield, A.D. 680. The former of these is described as "a Council of bishops and of many masters of the Church, who loved and knew the canonical statutes of the Fathers;" or, as Johnson says, "probably abbots, priors, and rectors of lesser Churches, that were skilled in the canons." The Acts of this Council begin, "In the name of our Lord God and Saviour Jesus Christ, in the perpetual reign and government of our said Lord; it seemed good that we should come together, according to the prescription of the venerable canons, to treat of the necessary affairs of the Church," &c. The 7th canon runs thus: "That a Synod be assembled twice in the year; but because many occasions may hinder this, it was jointly agreed by all, that once in the year it be assembled, viz. on the kalends of August, at the place called Cloves-hoo," (supposed to be Abingdon or Cliff).—*Trevor*, p. 15.

Again, we trace similar assemblies in the year 734, when Canons were published, under the authority of Egbert; in 747 a synod was held at Cloves-hoo, of which the following is the description:—

'A Synod of the southern province held under Archbishop Cuthbert, at Cloves-hoo (A.D. 747), was attended by the King of the Mercians, with his princes and dukes, but the constituent members are described as "the Prelates of the Sacred Order, with many Priests of the Lord, and those of

the ecclesiastical order in lesser Dignities, who met the venerable Archbishop Cuthbert at the place of Synod, and sat down to treat of and settle the unity of the Church and the state of Christianity, and a peaceable agreement."

'It was determined in the 25th Head:

"That Bishops coming from Synods, assembling the Priests, Abbots, and chiefs of monasteries and churches within their parish (diocese), and laying before them the injunctions of the Synod, should give it in charge that they be kept. And if there be anything which a Bishop cannot reform in his own diocese let him lay it before the Archbishop in Synod, and publicly before all, in order to its being reformed."—*Ibid.* p. 16.

In Saxon times we find that the principle of truly national synods was very highly developed. The Church of this island then enjoyed a local independence, which both ensured the respect and also the friendly cooperation of the civil power. Rome was even then jealous of these mutual relations, for she has always been opposed to local synods in their true character. But as the strength of our constitution is much derived from the wisdom of our Saxon forefathers in matters of civil government, so may we presume that there was equal wisdom in that balance of civil and ecclesiastical affairs, which was being gradually brought into practical application during the whole Saxon dynasty. The much boasted British constitution is founded on a Saxon basis, and it was no small part of those Saxon times to hold councils, where the bishops and clergy treated of what was necessary and useful for the Churches.

William the Conqueror, a man '*tumoris immoderati*,' exercised his arbitrary will to check the freedom of our national Synods, and the power of Rome aided him in doing so; but the contests of that age were only concerning a greater or less degree of independence; they did not touch the innate claim of the Church to hold them. During William Rufus, there were, indeed, no Synods, but nothing went right in that reign; and how aggrieved S. Anselm felt at this, we find in the following words:—

'He beheld many evils in England of which the correction pertained to his office, but which he could neither reform nor tolerate without sin in himself, since the king had permitted no council to be celebrated for the thirteen years he had reigned.'—*Ibid.* p. 22.

As soon, however, as he could, he remedied this:—

'Anselm being recalled by Henry I., summoned a council at Lambeth (A.D. 1100), to consider whether Matilda, who had worn the veil of a nun, but not taken the vows, might be lawfully wedded to the King. Here, again, the *personæ* of the Religious Orders were associated with the Bishops and Abbots.

'In another assembly at S. Peter's, Westminster, A.D. 1102, the same Archbishop endeavoured to redress some of the evils which had arisen from the long neglect of Synods. To this end, in addition to the Bishops and Abbots, the Council was attended by the great nobles, summoned by the

King at the Archbishop's request, in order that whatever should be decided might be observed with all the care and solicitude of both orders, lay as well as clerical. Paris and Matthew of Westminster, say that the King himself was also present, but the Archbishop certainly *presided*.—*Ibid.* p. 23.

Within short intervals we have constant records of Church Councils from this time to Edward I. There was a mixture often between Synods and Parliaments, the Clergy even attending the latter; but a jealousy was always maintained by the Clergy against any invasion of their ecclesiastical rights, that well assures us how strictly the claim to hold Synods was adhered to. Then come the much talked of era of Edward I., which some have the imprudence to assert is the commencement of Convocation. The history of it is, however, very obvious. There had, ever since the time of the Conquest, been a strong disposition on the part of the Crown to make ecclesiastical property pay a share towards the national expenses, though, in its origin, it was exempt from tax. It was for this reason that the Conqueror summoned the Bishops to the House of Lords as barons. The Clergy were also at different times summoned to appear in the lower House, in order to contribute toward the revenue. This sitting in the lower House never was allowed to interfere at all with the Church's right of Synod; but still the Clergy felt a strong repugnance at being thus summoned by the Crown, rather than through their Archbishop. The issue of these demands on the part of the Crown, and these jealousies among the Clergy, was the celebrated compromise, beginning with Edward I. The Clergy consented to meet together, and to be taxed regularly by order of the King's writ; but that writ, and all the machinery connected with it, was to be through the Archbishop, and was to be part of their Ecclesiastical system;—the King on his part granting to these Convocations that inalienable right of passing canons which the Church had always enjoyed. Thus it continued till the Reformation, during which time Convocation was the medium through which alterations were made, and questions decided. Henry VIII. did, indeed, bind it down with his accustomed tyranny, but he still recognised it as the Church of England by representation. From the Reformation to the time of William III. no alteration was made in our Prayer-book, or in the constitution of our Church, except by Convocation; and its sessions continued to be held till the reign of George I., when the affair of Bishop Hoadly, in 1717, caused their cessation. This event had been preceded by considerable agitation in the affairs of the Church, in which the High-Church cause, we must remember, was the popular one, and was stoutly defended in Convocation by Atterbury. This popularity of

the High-Church party was annoying to the Hanoverian dynasty, inasmuch as it was somewhat connected in their minds with the pretensions of the Stuart family. The suppression, therefore, of Convocation was undoubtedly a political movement against the Church party, and was a gross act of persecution, seeing that it was at the time engaged in its legitimate work as an active part of the Constitution.

Thus for more than 1700 years we trace the history of our Church as having Ecclesiastical Synods to manage her internal affairs; these may have been held under various circumstances, and with more or less regularity. It is possible that considerable intervals may have passed without any important assembly of this nature, but whatever wholesome adaptations there have been from time to time of the Church's system to the requirements of any age, have all been regulated by Synods in one form or other. The very elements of our national constitution are so mixed up with this balance of rights in the Church's favour, that the formalities of its practical use have remained absolutely untouched through a century and a half of mere form, although, in order to do that, the Crown has had, by a continued exercise of its functions, to act a farce which it would gladly have stopped; and the Archbishop of Canterbury has had to undergo the personal humiliation of carrying out this idle farce. Surely, if it ever could have been managed without the conviction that a strange mysterious alteration would ensue in the balance of our country's law, these forms would have been swept away during last century, while no one would have cared for or noticed the omission; but Providence has kept them for our use, that now they may vindicate their power and develop their meaning.

And now let us contrast 1700 years of one system with 150 of another. The whole question has all along been a constant matter of arrangement, or even dispute, between the civil and ecclesiastical powers; our present work, therefore, is to contemplate the result of that entire victory, on the part of the State, not only in greatly subduing, but in altogether repressing, the action of Synods during the latter period. Life and energy had at any rate been brought out, and both Church and State had thriven, during, and by means of those former mutual adjustments of influence and the mutual cooperation of independent interests. The State had derived from the Church many essential features of its constitution, and many solemn credentials, which had acquired an intrinsic value beyond the reach of faithless politicians all at once to impugn; and the Church on her part, whatever faults she had, had, at any rate, possessed the confidence of the people, and was the religion of the country.

With reference to the former question, we shall not enter upon the discussion of any loss which the State may be supposed to suffer, on the one hand, from a grievous want of reality which must belong to some of its public acts; and, on the other, from a singular incapacity to deal with any religious question; both resulting from the changed position of the Church, as being no longer, in the public mind, the one voice of Christ's religion among them; but shall confine ourselves, and that briefly, to examining the one point that immediately concerns our present subject, which is this. What is the experience of the Church, during the last 150 years, of the entire subjection of its independence to the civil power? Is that experience such as to warrant the supposition, that, after all, the State can manage the Church better than she can manage herself? for that is the real ground on which the opponents of Convocation must take their stand. Is there any excellence or power shown in the Church's history during this latter period, which ought, on motives of common sense and prudence, to make us forget the prior state of things? Canon Trevor concludes his chapter on Convocations since the Reformation as follows:—

‘From that time to the present the Convocations have never received a licence from the Crown, nor been permitted by the Archbishops to hold more than formal meetings. The Church was left to the executive authority of the Bishops in their several dioceses; its subserviency to the Court being secured by Sir Robert Walpole's expedient of a political use of the Crown patronage. Bishops originally nominated upon this system were chained to its continuance by the golden links of successive translations. Power so acquired was naturally devoted to the aggrandisement of themselves and their families. Ecclesiastical discipline was everywhere relaxed. Sloth and luxury increased among the higher clergy; while the parochial ministers, instead of elevating the laity, became themselves contaminated by the gross debauched manners of the day. *The Church* was made a tavern toast, but her Sanctuaries were ill-served and neglected. The Sacraments were degraded into a registration and a test. Piety came to be looked upon as disaffection, and earnestness to be reviled for enthusiasm;—till the great Wesleyan schism closed the dark annals of the eighteenth century, and proclaimed in a voice of thunder the consequences of attempting to rule a large, intelligent Church, without the help of common deliberation and representative institutions.’—*Ibid.* pp. 75, 76.

This picture is very true. For a time, religion seemed to die altogether out of the mass of the people, with the independence of the Church. But without stating only generalities, such as the want of religious feeling in the country at large; what is the use which the civil government has uniformly made of its influence over the Church, since her voice in self-defence has been utterly silenced? Has it been to promote the cause of religion, by proper appointments in the patronage it held? The miserable use made of Church patronage during last century, and even this, has been the scandal of the age and the hindrance

to any religious movement. Again, what attempts were made last century to give practical utility to the ecclesiastical institutions of the country? Those institutions have indeed been much found fault with, and the Church has been pointed at as being the last body to reform itself; but what is the reason of this? The State for generations filled every high office of the Church with political adherents; it secularised, by appointments and legislation, the possession of benefices into mere private property, subject only to the most nominal duties. The State having done this, and having silenced the true Church of England by representation, then turns round upon the fruits of its own work, and says, 'You clerics are not competent to manage your Church; look at the condition you are in.' It is hard indeed thus to be taunted with the results of the very system we condemn, as if they were the inherent evils of the Church herself, and not rather of that particular position of a Church, we are so anxious to throw on one side.

But there is another aspect of State religion alluded to in our last extract, which adds tenfold to the force of what we have already stated. Has the State, since it stopped the Church's own voice, and thereby took on itself the responsibility of acting in its stead,—has it, apart from the question of its conscientious discharge of such direct functions as the exercise of patronage, &c., succeeded in confirming the Church's position as the religion of the country? We might deprecate a State Church, but yet acknowledge its power to unite the inhabitants of a country under the same external forms of religion. We might think so, if facts bore out these conclusions. But as a matter of fact—and it is but too obvious a one—the State has not in the least prevented disunion, while on the other hand it has introduced deadness and indifference, and incapacitated the Church as the recipient of a religious movement, when one arose. That movement rebelled, on principle, not against the spiritual pretensions of a religious body in the abstract, but against a State Church, as their own observations pointed out that phenomenon to them. The rise of Methodism, with its Conference, as well as of many other sects with their various systems of organization, are an overwhelming evidence that the natural tendency of all religious bodies is to possess self-government, and to resist the entire subjugation of their spiritual affairs to the civil power; whilst they are an equally strong proof how feebly was the Church managed during that one century in which her own voice has been sunk in that of the State. In saying this we are not laying ourselves open to any charge of advocating what must ultimately tend to the separation of Church and State; we only say that the last century proves

both that the religious instincts of mankind are alienated from the notion of a Church which has no independent and corporate power, but is the creature of the State; and also that the State cannot be trusted to manage ecclesiastical affairs without detriment to the Church in her religious character.

From a time, however, when the revival of religion was altogether external to the Church, or was totally adverse to the Ecclesiastical system, even though within her nominal bounds, we may turn with pleasure to a period of fresh life in the Church. Yet is this a concession to the beneficial influence of State control? We may answer this by another question. Has the government of the State, by its wise selection of Bishops, and by its general exercise of power, or by its example, been the origin of this improved condition? It may be said, but we are sure with diffidence even by the most rash, that the House of Commons has promoted great reforms in the Church. But the reforms were very late, and evidenced but too clearly the corruptions and abuses which had been allowed to grow. The whole tone of parliamentary legislation, as recently assumed in ecclesiastical matters, we find to have been strangely helpless, confused, and blundering. Mr. Horsman and Sir Benjamin Hall may have said true things, but men of that kind have not been the origin of the improved spirit of our Church; nor will the sympathies of the Church ever go with them. There is a wholesome repugnance in the very elements of a religious body, to being dealt with as these gentlemen wish to deal with the Church. Nor, again, can there be any claim put in, by that form of ecclesiastical administration which we associate with the name of Russell, to have been the fostering nurses of the Church's present activity. The religious life of the Church has sprung up, not by, but in spite of the State; and it is one of the fruits of that revived life that the Church now seeks for synodical action of her own, according, in part, to the same instinctive feelings which formerly set up the Wesleyan Conference, and in part to her love of those ways in which her early life was trained in the primitive ages, and all her after plans were dictated, even up to the last authorized revision of her canons and her formularies. The Church now claims this, not as a movement contrary to our national laws, or not only as one petitioning for some relaxation of strict rule and order; but she has this great advantage in her present desires—that it is only the actual legal forms now in use which she asks to develop. She wishes practically, and not only in theory, to adopt that system of mutual strength, which, as it was the original foundation of the union between the civil power and the Christianity of the English nation, so she would now look to, in order that life, unity, and peace may, under the Divine blessing, be restored.

The Ex-Proctor, though writing against the present action of Convocation, yet allows the following statement, which is much to our own purpose :—

‘ Legislation goes on almost without her ; and though a heavy blow and great discouragement be inflicted, she is well-nigh powerless to avert it. Her voice may be raised in vain—her Order may be overborne. The power thus exercised is not wielded, as in former days, by men of her own faith and creed. It is not now a legislature of Churchmen legislating for the Church. The Legislature now consists of all classes. Avowed enemies of the Church mingle amongst her friends, and it might easily happen, in the strife of parties, that her fate should be at the disposal of a few of her bitterest adversaries. It cannot be pleasant to the Church to have her proceedings criticised, her motives impugned, her character defamed, and her very constitution threatened, by men whose only claim to do these things is the accidental possession of a seat in the Legislature.

‘ Church Reformers are invaluable, and deserving of our utmost respect : but how few deserve the name ! how few are qualified for the work ! Look at the last Parliament, which now fills up a page in history. Amongst its members you may see one who denies all sacraments and repudiates all ceremonies, ready to legislate without the smallest scruple or one single apparent misgiving, for a Church which has decreed the one and received the other. You may see another who will neither believe a Bishop nor yet apologise for his unbelief. With no ecclesiastical knowledge or delicacy of mind, he yet professes himself a reformer, and deals with Church matters, as a juggler with his balls, for the amusement of the people of Marylebone. You may see another, meaning well and beginning well, and as such entitled to respect. But difficulties vex, delay irritates him. He loses his self-command and self-restraint. He goes further than he intends, and says more than he means. He smites with his mouth : and thus it comes to pass at length that, though indeed a friend, he is counted as an enemy.’
—*Shall we press for the Assembling of Convocation ?* pp. 8, 9.

How this writer can allow such convictions in one direction to be overborne by fears and apprehensions, we have no concern, and therefore leave this question to his own ruminations, not having much doubt that he will ultimately be converted to our side.

With the mass of writing that lies upon our table, on the history and functions of Convocation, we have preferred giving a statement of the case in our own words, as the general result of our perusal, rather than incurring the risk of fatiguing our readers with too many or too elaborate extracts ; but having come to our own conclusions, it is fair that we should let the other side be heard. The writings against Convocation have not, indeed, been so voluminous, under the department of literature with which we are now concerned, as have been those of its advocates, but we must not always measure wisdom by the multitude of words. Again, the amount of historical research appears, at first sight, to lean most undoubtedly toward the rightful claims of Convocation, but common sense and the violence of present facts do occasionally give even the homeliest of personages an advantage over the most abstruse. Let us

then hear some of the reasons. The Rev. E. Eliot has published 'Thoughts on the Revival of Convocation.' He adheres to the assertion, that the ancient right of synod was not jealously guarded in that Convocation which was modelled by Edward I.

'There is something curious in the history of these provincial synods. It is foreign to my present purpose to dwell on it. In passing, I may remark, that when introduced by royal authority in the reign of Edward I. (the main object being a more easy way of making the Church contribute to the necessities of the State) both the Bishops and the inferior clergy were opposed to them. The inferior clergy beheld in them an instrument of taxation, which more directly, and with less possibility of evasion, affected themselves, inasmuch as the payments required from them were sanctioned by their own votes. The lure held out of admission to a share of power in framing ecclesiastical canons and regulations, was not sufficient to compensate for the expected loss of money.

'On the other hand, the Bishops viewed with jealousy the tolerated interference of the lower clergy in matters which had previously been settled by their own sole authority. There was a seeming encroachment on episcopal independence, which they would naturally be disposed to resist. Few passions are so strong as the love of power. The practice of early antiquity was little regarded in this desire to monopolize ecclesiastical rule.'—*Thoughts on the Revival of Convocation*, p. 12.

We have already answered this view of history, and now will leave the discrimination of our readers to employ itself undisturbed with the truth, the practical knowledge of things going on in the world, and the general discretion contained in the following remarks:—

'Nearly a century and a half have passed since the suspension of the powers of Convocation. We look in vain for evils which, in consequence of this withdrawal of the power of self-government, have endangered the safety, or greatly embarrassed the operations of our Church. Whatever has been judged conducive to the well-being of our establishment, in matters of external rule, has received, with some show indeed of irregularity, but yet substantially without any detriment to our spiritual or temporal welfare, the sanction of Parliament. Any measure of purely an ecclesiastical character can be brought, through our Bishops, under the notice of the legislature: and when its merits are fairly and fully ascertained, it passes into a law. It is true that in such a case the interests and wishes of the parochial clergy are not fully represented; but we hear from them no complaint. They rely on their Bishops in the Upper House (knowing at the same time that there is not in all cases an identity of interest between the prelates and their inferiors in rank in the Church); and they suspect not, in the large majority of instances, the sound churchmanship of the representatives of the people.

'It would be inexpedient now to innovate on the practice (certainly no unsafe one) of nearly 150 years. An injudicious attempt to improve on long-established usage has frequently led to far greater evils than any which before existed. That which is specious and perfect in theory is too often found to be ruinous in practice. Let us not, by grasping at the shadow, bring on ourselves an irrecoverable loss of the substance.'—*Ibid.* pp. 17, 18.

It is right, however, to say, in this place, that many sound

and wise Churchmen, in contemplating the approach of this last attempt, did anticipate many difficulties of a practical kind. They could not quite see their way to its ultimate consequences. These men were not the writers against it, nor did they raise the assumed cry of *caution*, but still the thoughts of an active Convocation, as beginning to deliberate on the affairs of the Church, could not but suggest many reflections, not all of which were free from apprehension. It might, in the circumstances of its very commencement, have appeared to the public eye, that this claim was asserted in too much of a party spirit. What, then, if the so-called 'extreme party' had mustered together in small numbers, and found themselves alone? This would have been damaging to that general confidence which is so necessary to a representative or constitutional government, and would therefore have been prejudicial to its future working. This was not seriously apprehended, but there are not means at all times of ascertaining the extent to which the idea of caution may influence people. Again, it was impossible to foresee all the difficulties that might arise, either from the technical ignorance and the wilfulness of some, or the coolness and the arbitrary conduct of others, which yet might give the affair a bad start. There were also graver and more political embarrassments within the range of possibility, arising from the following reflection:—Convocation was originally modelled on the supposition that all subjects of the Crown were Churchpeople; that the temporalities and spiritualities of the nation were coincident. The case now is different; Convocation only represents the spiritual position of one religious communion, while if the same relations as before continued between it and the civil legislature, there might seem to be a violation attempted of those principles of toleration, now so long established, and so agreeable to the interests of all. The point, of course, on which this inconsistency might work itself to the surface would be State interference with Church property. The coincidence between the State and the temporalities of the Church might still be claimed under the pretext of the general interests of religion, while the functions of Convocation not being practically coextensive with these, would only be allowed to receive freedom of action at the cost of some portion of the temporalities to the Church. This view might be taken not only in the proceedings of the legislature, but also by interested persons, who, holding Church property in a secular spirit, would adhere to the letter of the present law, as their tenure, and resist any further condition being imposed on them, for the sake of religion; these claims being the means of inducing the Crown to withhold its sanction from the Canons of the Church.

The former class of minor difficulties alluded to, have already almost disappeared, and, in actual work, we find Convocation free from many obstructions which were contemplated. They were encountered with the strong bond of faith, and melted before the touch of stern reality. With regard to the future political difficulties which might be anticipated, we can only exhort to the same principle of bold confidence in our cause. If there are any who fear that freedom of action would bring down interference with the temporalities of the Church; and there are plenty in the House of Commons who would help on our present wish, from the hope of sharing in the Church's spoil; let them consider that if synodical action be absolutely necessary to the Church's religious usefulness, we must of course persevere in our claims, as being of prior importance even to the preservation of our temporal advantages. Viewing the two on the supposition of having to make the choice between them, we see plainly that the path of true faith, and confidence in the divine guidance of the Church, would teach us to press for our charter of liberty, even though we see not clearly through some temporal dangers. And we frankly confess that we believe no one does see, very far ahead, what is to be the issue of all these things; but as long as we do what, in each crisis, seems just, fair, and right, we must here, as in every other affair of life, be content to trust in that Providence, which gives us certain rules of life and action, and yet hides the future consequences of them from our eyes. One thing, however, is certain, that equal, and *we* think tenfold, dangers await the Church, both in her spiritual and also her temporal privileges, if she allows herself to be swallowed up by such political designs as the civil power, constituted, and justly so, of all or no religions, should gradually put into force with reference to her. The Church, moreover, ought, as a general rule, to expect the protection of Providence, even on her temporalities, exactly in proportion to the proper discharge of her spiritual functions. If the Church sinks these latter considerations from fear of consequences to the former, we can only say, it is bad policy. Whatever may seem to us the immediate results of such and such measures, we yet have firm confidence that the justice of Heaven will allow the world to spoil as it likes a Church whose spirit is congenial with it, while it will protect, and cause to flourish, that Church which thinks first of the kingdom of heaven, and has read that all these things shall be added unto her.

There is, however, a middle course often suggested, that of a Synod after some new design, supposed to be rather more tame than the wild beast of Convocation. Nothing of this kind will

stand one breath of opposition; for, whatever may be the result of certain wholesome reforms, in the houses of our legal Convocation, it is mere vanity to imagine that the Church can ever gain a shadow of advantage, except through that machinery which has wonderfully been preserved within her, though long dead in action, for this very purpose. To yield this strong legal ground, would leave us at the mercy of our enemies, and the very thought of it,—we say *it*, for we really know not what the various schemes may be,—is a treacherous delusion. The Church should feel her way, by little and little, caring more for present wisdom than future speculations, but never forgetting the truth, thus well expressed by Canon Trevor:—

‘Any attempt to create a newfangled Synod by Royal Commission, or by Act of Parliament, would immediately arouse the fears and jealousies of the Revolution, and so render union impossible.’

We now come to the third division of our subject; the Sessions themselves of Convocation. These proceedings have been so fully reported by the public press, that it is unnecessary here to inform our readers, with any methodical precision, of everything that took place. To give all the debates, in their full proportions, would indeed convert our whole volume into an ecclesiastical Hansard. We shall, therefore, confine ourselves to the more legitimate province of reviewing; and shall look on the newspaper reports as our material and our text, to which we have occasion to append an ‘argument’ and supply ‘annotations.’

On the 5th of November the new ecclesiastical parliament congregated in St. Paul’s churchyard, and at a given hour was admitted into the cathedral. The framework of the galleries, that were erecting for the Duke of Wellington’s funeral, presented a wild scene of huge timbers and loose planks; yet the workmen had ceased from their labour, and all was in gloomy stillness. An imperious necessity alone could have prevailed over the incessant labour that was required in order to conclude these preparations in time. Whether Mr. Cubitt understood the cause or not, he had to suspend his operations, because the writs of the Queen and of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and of the Bishop of London, the Dean of the Province, and of all the Suffragan Bishops, had with one voice required, according to the laws of the Medes and Persians, which cannot be altered, that the clergy of the province should present themselves in that cathedral at that time. The first glance at the assembled party, when standing under the dome, was enough to show that Convocation had mustered in large force. Deans, archdeacons, and proctors, glided about, full of mutual recognition and inquiries; and this whole group, set off by the picturesque effect of full

canonical costume, presented a curious and suggestive scene. If it is allowable to found any arguments on personal appearance, we confess that our observations on that occasion (for the public had free admission) were most favourable. We saw a highly educated, an ecclesiastical looking collection of men. They looked like what they were, and the sight gave strength and reality to our convictions that Convocation had met for business. From the dome a movement was then made toward the morning chapel at the north-west corner of the cathedral. Here the bishops assembled, in their red chimeres, which are a striking improvement on their ordinary hideous dress. As this was only a meeting of form, there were not many bishops present, but these few were shortly summoned to the west door, together with the dean and chapter, to receive the Archbishop of Canterbury. This was a grand arrival, and the procession which forthwith commenced toward the choir of the cathedral, was a wonderful phenomenon. The only clear passage was under the north gallery; no daylight could gain admission, and the only substitute was the glimmer of a few dim candles, stuck against the wall, much after the fashion that colliers, by means of a lump of clay as their candlestick, illumine the dark avenues of their toil. Such, then, was the stage scene; and now, who were the actors? A long procession passed along, containing the elements of royal state. Here was the Church of England by representation, in its most stately costume. Bishops and dignified clergy we have already mentioned. There were also between thirty and forty ecclesiastical lawyers, whose appearance really possessed such power, that we almost forgot the humility of the path along which such weight of dignity and such strength of wisdom were marching. Of course they were in full dress, which exhibited many gradations of splendour. As some eastern ladies wear the whole of their fortunes on their persons, so that their wealth can be estimated by the length of their golden necklaces and bracelets, so these lawyers wear about them the whole of their honours, under the visible form of grey wigs and lace ruffles. The junior advocates demonstrated the simplicity of their experience by the shortness of the one and the plainness of the other; while the dress of the Dean of the Arches took care, on the æsthetic principle, to let none of his dignity be unrepresented. The enlargement of his head-dress, both in length, depth, height, and circuit, appeared conscious of no bounds, while the profusion of gorgeous and elaborately-worked lace was enough to enlist the whole female population into the army of the defenders of the Church. But, speaking seriously, it was strikingly illustrative of the constitutional importance of the Church's synod, to find it thus cele-

brated by irreversible custom. But there yet followed in the rear, as the climax of honour, the archbishop himself, with his long scarlet train, borne by an attendant. He was preceded and followed by the proper accompaniments of supreme dignity. His chaplains, his footmen, and vergers, all marked, to a thoughtful eye, the ecclesiastical majesty of Lambeth, which enjoys a longer pedigree, and a more uninterrupted history, than any temporal throne or dynasty in Europe.

With regard to the position of the Archbishop of Canterbury, compared with his brother bishops, there appears to be some little uncertainty; and there may be a real inconsistency between some of his functions and others. In a strict ecclesiastical point of view, he can only be as '*primus inter pares*,' and can possess no arbitrary power. Yet we can well imagine that the necessity of acting in spiritual matters, '*cum consensu fratrum*,' may thus be really binding on him; at the same time that there may be a preeminence, in the eyes of the State, attached to his person, which is superior to the former relationship. He has always been the principal Churchman of the land, and thereby brought into peculiar nearness with the Crown, and made the representative of the Church in the bestowal of court honours,—not to mention some vestiges of his former position often enjoyed as pope's legate. Thus he ranks, in court precedence, as the first subject of the realm, after the blood royal, whereas the suffragans of his province have only the patent of the lowest order of nobility. Consequently, there is a very great gap between them. The palace of Lambeth, again, in close contiguity with Westminster, and not in the cathedral city, portrays the high political rank of its occupant. But there are special reasons in connexion with our present subject, which appear to show that the preeminence of the archbishop in Convocation is even more than the result of court favour, as shown to his general position. Edward I., in his schemes for taxation, designed to have one great parliament, including both cleric and lay members; but the Clergy resisted this as an invasion of their ecclesiastical privileges; and the concession which resulted is thus described in Burn's '*Ecclesiastical Law*:'—'The king gratified the archbishops by suffering this new body of Convocation to be formed in the nature of a parliament. The archbishop sat as king; his suffragans sat in the upper house, as his peers; the deans, archdeacons, and the proctor for the chapter, represented the burghers; and the two proctors for the clergy, the knights of the shire.' The archbishop would thus seem to have had a princely eminence in Convocation, with reference to its secular business; though, of course, as this was at the time the result of a concession to the Clergy, it is plain that the suffragan bishops

would give up thereby none of their inherent spiritual equality, as members, with their president, of a Synod composed of the order of bishops. Mr. Fraser brings out, with great historical care, the twofold nature of Convocation implied in this:—

‘The result of this struggle between the Crown and the Church was, even in the time of Edward I., the compromise from which arose our present Convocations. The king sought to bring the Clergy to Parliament, chiefly with a view to raise money: the Clergy pressed for their own synodical meetings, in order to transact their own business. Again, Edward wished to assemble them by his own writ; and they refused to be convoked, except by the canonical authority of their metropolitans. The question was set at rest by the king’s directing his writ to the archbishops of both provinces; and these metropolitans, moved by the king’s writ, summoning their bishops and clergy to Convocation by their own canonical authority. Thus Convocation came into existence—a catholic and ecclesiastical assembly, possessing full spiritual power, and the weight and influence of a provincial Synod, representing to the utmost the definite and express will of the episcopal and sacerdotal orders within the province; and yet being at the same time a legal and constitutional assembly of a parliamentary nature, possessing civil rights and privileges and political powers, not only with regard to the voting of subsidies and the raising of taxes from the body which it represented, but as able to put in force among the laity the canons and decrees it had framed, when sanctioned by the king’s authority.’—*Constitutional Nature of Convocations*, p. 13.

Again, he illustrates this by the very forms which we are now describing:—

‘It would perhaps be considered fanciful to trace out, in corroboration of this point, a traditional symbolism—which yet seems a possible one—of the twofold nature of the Convocation, at once synodical and parliamentary, being “assembled,” as the 139th Canon declares, “in the name of Christ and by the Queen’s authority,” in the custom which prevailed for a long period of our history, of the Convocation of Canterbury meeting the archbishop and joining with him in prayers and Holy Communion at St. Paul’s Cathedral, and afterwards continuing their sessions at Westminster, in the neighbourhood of the king’s palace and of the place of meeting of the other estates of the realm.’—*Ibid.* p. 18.

The remainder of their proceedings can be briefly told, now that we have discussed the persons who were engaged in it. The procession entered the choir. The archbishop occupied, according to precedent, the dean’s seat. The Bishop of Llandaff then read the Latin Litany, and Convocation prayers. This he did with a clear and distinct voice; but still we missed the penetrating force of a musical intonation for which that language is so well adapted. The responses, moreover, were not chanted, which gave a tameness of effect to the whole service, especially as it was not relieved, in the anthems, by the sound of the organ, which, on account of the preparation for the funeral, was not in playing order. No doubt, on future occasions, when the practical working of Convocation gives life and reality to the forms of its opening day, the celebration of the Eucharist will

he restored as directed in Archbishop Parker's formulary. Under the circumstances of the last hundred years, we hardly think it would have been desirable to have included so solemn an act in the apparent emptiness of the affair.

After the Latin sermon by Dr. Jeremie, the prudent exhortations of which were somewhat lost in that peculiar rolling sound that always abides in St. Paul's Cathedral, from the external vehicles that encompass it, and over which no voice can triumph, but that of music, the procession returned to the west door, and thence to the chapter house, which is contained in a house on the north side of the churchyard. It may easily be imagined that such a procession as we have pictured, created a sensation among the passers by. In a chance walk through the north pavement of St. Paul's, it would certainly be startling to meet the Archbishop of Canterbury on foot with his scarlet train and his many followers. By the aid, however, of the police, who manage everything in London, even to ecclesiastical synods, some degree of decorum was preserved, and the vision was past before the crowd had full time to be alive to the precise nature of the exhibition thus rudely injected into a London pavement.

The Chapter House is like a large dining-room, up stairs. At the head of a table sat the Archbishop, on one side of it the other bishops, and on the other the judges and registrars, while the Lower House of Convocation was crowded together at the other end. After the writs were duly read, the names of the Upper House called over, and proxies delivered in, all which forms have already been amply described, the Lower House were dismissed to the Cathedral to choose their Prolocutor. This important work was performed in the north aisle. The Dean of St. Paul's first called over the names of the whole House, and then invited them to proceed forthwith to the election. Dr. Peacock was proposed, seconded, and unanimously elected; and so ended the day, with the appointment of a deputation to present the new Prolocutor to the Archbishop, a ceremony which is very similar to the presentation of the Speaker of the House of Commons to the Queen, for her approval of the House's choice. This was to be done at the commencement of the proceedings that were to take place on the 12th of November in the Jerusalem Chamber at Westminster, the time and place mentioned in the Archbishop's prorogation.

During the week which intervened between the formal opening in St. Paul's and the proceedings at the Jerusalem Chamber, the friends of Convocation were not inactive. Numerously attended meetings were held on the 9th 10th, and 11th, at Willis's rooms, at which it was discussed what course had best

be adopted in order to promote the cause. It was felt that the Lower House ought to be prepared with some scheme of deliberation, in order that having a definite subject before them, they might at any rate pray for time to discuss it. Drafts of church grievances, 'gravamina et reformanda' were shown to these meetings, and considered one by one. A paper containing these, under the form of an address to the Upper House, praying that an end should not be put to the sitting till the accompanying subjects had been discussed, was in its revised state presented to all members of Convocation on their arrival at the Jerusalem Chamber; and, as it also came publicly before the House, we shall not in this place consider its contents. Of the spirit and temper, however, exhibited at these meetings, we cannot refrain from taking notice, so highly were they commended by all who knew what took place. Archdeacon Hare publicly in the House expressed his pleasure at what he there witnessed; and we have the like testimony of a proctor, who from natural temperament, from the habits of a life long passed in the quietest scene of labour, and also from being at the time an invalid, would have been much pained at any confusion or unpleasant debate. He said with real feeling, that having been present at those meetings was an ample reward in itself for the fatigues of his journey, for he never witnessed such good feeling, such mature judgment, and such well-considered expressions of opinion on any occasion of his life at a deliberative meeting. Every objection raised seemed to him to possess such weight, that the delay, consequent therefrom, would have been a serious impediment to business, if it had not been met by the accomplished tact and gentlemanlike bearing of those who were chiefly responsible for the success of the meetings.

A strange contrast is this picture to the violent declamation and the empty, but morally degrading scene of heated passion and angry feeling enacted at Freemasons' Hall at the same time by Lord Shaftesbury, and a few pitiable remnants of the Low Church party of former days, together with the new importation of a young Irishman, as sole representative of the young blood of the English Church, in opposition to the 'threatened revival of Convocation,' a subject placed by them in immediate and strange alliance with Confession—for no other reason, as we conceive, than that both words began with C.

On Friday, the 12th of November, commenced the actual deliberations of Convocation, which, for the first time since 1717, were continued for three days. Both Houses assembled in great force, presenting, on their arrival, a scene of unusual life and brilliancy to the sombre cloisters of Westminster. There were sixteen bishops, the only absentees being Bangor, Bath

and Wells, Ely, and Litchfield, of whom the three last were supposed to be kept away by illness or family affliction; and of the Lower House, about ninety were present out of one hundred and fifty. After prayers in the Jerusalem Chamber, which again consisted of the litany in Latin, and the petitions which so peculiarly imply the sacred purpose of the Synod, and after the able speech of the Prolocutor on his presentation, the Lower House adjourned to Westminster Abbey, where the names were called over. The Jerusalem Chamber was, however, given up to them, and thither they returned; the Upper House having retired to the library of the Deanry. A time, we hope, will come, when all these expedients will be rendered unnecessary by the erection of a new building for the Lower House. The design of such a building in harmony with its use, with the circumstances of its requirement at this era of the Church, and also with the venerable walls around it, would be a striking opportunity for the development of architectural taste.

The proceedings of the Upper House this day are so ably drawn up, with such attention to details and legal accuracy, in the 'Morning Chronicle' of the next day, that we have great pleasure in putting the article on record, as descriptive of an important scene in the history of our Church:—

'Sixteen bishops attended. A considerable time was occupied in receiving petitions, mostly praying the House not to separate without exercising its powers as the representative Synod of the Church. One important petition was presented from a body of curates, who complained that, having attended, in obedience to a formal summons, to vote in the election of diocesan proctors, their votes had been refused. The Bishop of the diocese (Exeter), who presented the petition, said that he had made it his business to ascertain the accuracy of the allegations, and that he found that, while the citation—passing through its several stages of mandate to the dean of the province, the bishop, the archdeacon, and the rural dean, who served it individually on the curates—required the presence of "the whole clergy," the official had refused the curates' votes. The same prelate observed that the assembly of the clergy was twofold in its character—first, as an Estate of the Realm, meeting the other Estates in Parliament, and secondly, as a Synod of all the clergy, obeying the Archbishop's writ to meet in consultation on Church affairs; and he showed that this distinction was borne out by the circumstance that Convocation did not meet on the same day as Parliament, and that its sessions had been held during the prorogation or dissolution of the Legislature. The Bishop of Oxford remarked that the clergy did not attend in obedience to the Royal writ, but on the Archbishop's citation, which proved a distinct synodical and ecclesiastical character to be inherent in Convocation. Thereupon the Archbishop, in deference to the serious character of this petition, observed that it could not be decided upon without sufficient time for deliberation; and consequently, in adjourning any action upon it, he undertook *that the subject should be considered at a future opportunity.*

'Among the other petitions presented, was one signed by 1,360 of the clergy and laity, praying the assistance of Convocation to provide that, in any future applications for Government aid from the Educational Com-

mittee of Privy Council, a free choice might be given to promoters of Church schools among all the management clauses A, B, C, D. A petition was also presented from the Bishop of Capetown, complaining that he, although a suffragan of Canterbury, had not been summoned to Convocation.

But the chief business of the Upper House was concentrated in the admirable speech of the Bishop of Oxford, who, on the Archbishop proposing the address to the Crown, moved an amendment. It was a speech at once able and comprehensive, and having higher claims on the Church's gratitude than those arising from its eloquence—a speech not only dictated by a personal sense of the duties and responsibilities of his high office, but most important as a forcible appeal to the sense of duty in others; and it had the obvious effect, if not of satisfying, at least of silencing, the ablest opponents of synodical action who were present. The Bishop availed himself of the elegant speech of the Prolocutor of the Lower House, and enlarged with great force on the duties especially incumbent on the bishops and clergy at this particular juncture. The Prolocutor had urged, and the Bishop enforced the weighty consideration, that if—at a time when every class of society proved itself sensitively alive to its responsibilities in every institution to which it belonged or which it represented—the clergy alone were determined to sit still or to lie asleep, they must expect that such sleep would not long be permitted to remain undisturbed, for the activity and honesty of this practical age would consider it akin to the sleep of death. The Bishop then dwelt on the special nature of the Church as a Divine institution, entrusted with a Divine mission and with corporate privileges; and he observed that, if the heads of the Church of England continued ignorant or careless of their responsibilities, a severe reckoning was at hand. He further remarked—in terms too reverent to be scornful, but in language of much weight and severity—that if the Church did not carry out her own principles, and work in the way of her own constitution, other substitutes for synodical action, such as a recent meeting presided over by a noble lord, would attempt to supersede her legitimate and authorized action. These were days, he added, in which discussion could not be stopped; and it was better, therefore, to do that regularly which would else be done irregularly—it was better to call up the proper conciliar action of the Church than to permit mere popular agitation on religious matters to take its place.

‘After having powerfully dwelt on these preliminary topics as illustrating the necessity of synodical action, the Bishop came to a matter of great practical moment and interest. It will be in the recollection of our readers that, at the last session of Convocation, the Archbishop was advised by his then official, Sir John Dodson, that Convocation was precluded by the Act of Submission from entering into any kind of business beyond the formal preparation of an address to the Crown. It was, however, urged on that occasion, against the dictum in question—and the fact was finally admitted by the authority which had propounded it—that the Act of Henry VIII. had no such effect, and that it only restrained the clergy from making Canons, and from deliberating in order to frame and promulge Canons. With reference to this point, the Bishop of Oxford stated that, during the recess, his attention had been particularly drawn to the matter, and that he had taken the highest legal opinions on the extent of the restraint imposed by the Act of Submission on the clergy. He had submitted a case to Drs. Addams and Phillimore, and Her Majesty's Attorney-General, in order to ascertain whether there was any law in existence which precluded Convocation from considering any matters connected with the well ordering and advancement of the Church, and from taking any steps in respect to such matters, short of actually making or debating

Canons; and their opinions were unanimous and decisive in favour of the entire freedom and liberty of discussion already possessed by Convocation. In consequence of these legal opinions, the Bishop observed that though, under present circumstances, he did not think it advisable to petition the Crown for licence to make Canons, yet, as Convocation was not otherwise legally disqualified from transacting business, he should move the insertion in the address to the Crown, of a clause stating that Convocation was about to appoint committees for the purpose of considering a proper scheme for the correction of offences committed by the clergy against the ecclesiastical laws. In that scheme the constitution of a Trial Court of Appeal must of course be included; and when such committees should have completed their labours, Convocation would again address the Crown, stating the result of its own deliberate judgment on this vast and important question, and praying Her Majesty to give directions to her Ministers to introduce a Bill into Parliament founded upon the report and representation of Convocation. After the Bishop of Oxford's speech, the Archbishop remarked on the very serious nature of the motion just proposed; and, in consideration of its importance, he adjourned the further discussion of the subject to Tuesday next.

'Such, we believe, is a tolerable sketch of the proceedings of the Upper House yesterday. Should it not be so, the fault lies only with those who excluded and imposed impossible conditions on the Press.'

There were great and just complaints that the President on this day would only admit the reporter of a single journal, and limited even his report to a few words. We have great confidence, however, in the accuracy of the paper from which we have quoted the above article, and have the personal testimony, moreover, of one who was present, that the report of the Bishop of Oxford's speech was faithful and correct, as far as it went; though no really adequate idea was conveyed of the powerful and overwhelming force of its language; not, as our informant (no mean judge of such things) stated, that it was *eloquent*, but that it was marked by a peculiar *fitness* in style and argument for the occasion. In the Lower House, the Prolocutor commenced his duties with a tact and readiness, as well as a courtesy of manner, that justified the discretion of those individuals who, though attached to opposite parties, yet were understood to have mutually agreed that the Dean of Ely should be elected without opposition. Whether, in his weak state of health, he anticipated three days' work, or calculated on the accustomed unity of session, we cannot tell; but, if he had been assured of the latter by any of the adverse party, he showed a ready mind to learn otherwise, and a determination to perform the duties of his high office in an honourable and impartial spirit. He at once proposed for the acceptance of the House the standing rules used in its old sessions, and explained the relation in which they stood with the Upper House, viz. that without its consent, the suggestions which they could discuss must be confined to '*gravamina et reformanda*.' Many petitions were then presented, both favourable

to Convocation and otherwise. The former had, however, the decided majority of seventy-four over four, of which last, two were from the Diocese of Winchester, that from the archdeaconry being signed by 169 clergy; one from Sion College, carried at a meeting on the previous Monday by a small majority; and one from the Diocese of Gloucester. Dr. Spry, after the preliminary business, then submitted to the House the paper we have before alluded to. It was a representation of 'gravamina et reformanda,' drawn up, he said, with a view to show the world the just and practical objects which the advocates of Convocation had before them. He thought it an erroneous idea that the clergy of the Church were alone, of all public bodies, incapable of discussing their own affairs without unseemly contests.

The heads of the 'representation,' which was read at full length, will convey its general purport. Addressing the Upper House, it wished for the Church's Synod 'for the removal of abuses;' it lamented 'many defections' from our Church, and spoke of remedies for these evils, under the various topics of 'Church extension at home;' 'education of the people;' 'education and training of the clergy;' 'clergy discipline;' 'Court of Appeal;' 'supremacy of the Crown, and confirmation of bishops;' 'cathedral chapters;' 'relief of the consciences of the clergy' (referring to the burial of the dead, &c.); 'colonial Churches;' and 'aggression of the See of Rome.' Dr. Spry, in conclusion, repeated his conviction that this paper was calculated to remove many apprehensions as to the motives of those who encouraged synodical action: he did not propose that so long a paper should be accepted in a day; but that the Upper House be requested not to end the sitting till there had been sufficient time for its consideration.

Archdeacon Hare seconded this motion in an address of great force, coming from one whose sentiments are so well known as certainly having no High-Church bias. He himself said, it was an erroneous idea that the desire for the revival of Convocation had proceeded from this quarter. The last few years had indeed given the public this idea; but he quoted, in opposition to this partial knowledge of the case, the words of Dr. Johnson, Coleridge, the Archbishop of Dublin, and even of addresses to the Crown from such small meetings of Convocation itself as he had taken part in, in 1841 and 1847. He thus concluded:—

'With respect to the present motion, it will be impossible on the present occasion to enter into a discussion of this paper. The motion confines itself merely to the expression of a wish that we may obtain from the Upper House permission to sit, and that our sittings may be continued in the same manner as seemed fit to them, so that the House may, at the appropriate

time, take into consideration these matters, and to express its own judgment upon them—may determine in favour of the petition here submitted, if the House so think fit, or, if not, may reject it altogether. I do trust that, when it is seen what are the real designs of the chief promoters of Convocation, it will be felt that there is no reason why any member of the Church should sever or separate himself from us and oppose the motion. There is, I trust, nothing in the matters here laid before you that can give offence to the most sensitive member of any party. It has been our careful design, during six days of long sittings, in constructing this paper, to avoid whatever could give reasonable offence to any party in the Church, and to express merely that which should meet with assent and concurrence in the heart of every one who desired the good of our Church. And here let me be allowed to express the cordial delight which I have derived from sitting upon the committee who were assembled for the purpose—a stranger to almost all, and feeling myself in opposition to the great body on various Church and ecclesiastical questions—the cordial delight, I say, which it has given me to find a ready disposition to accept every reasonable suggestion. I entered it with much fear of the success of my own attempts to modify the petition in such a manner as to avoid every difficulty, and to make the paper represent the whole body of the Church. But I can assure this House that a large body, members of Convocation, who were joined in framing this, have conducted the whole discussion in a spirit of friendliness and tolerance, calmness and moderation, which has been to me a great blessing; and I feel convinced that the result of our deliberations will be an event in our ecclesiastical history.'

A long conversation then followed, in which Archdeacon Garbett, after expressing his alarm at the voluminous nature of the 'representation,' rather curiously illustrated his fear by rushing at once into the discussion of all those topics, and a great many more also, though the question before the House was not their discussion at all. He talked of the 'majestic character of a national Synod;' but with a like inconsistency he opposed the present attempt to revive it. With some difficulty he was at length called to order, and his imagination kept more within bounds. Many others joined in this discussion, especially those who were unfavourable to Convocation, as Archdeacon Sinclair, Mr. Vincent, the Dean of Llandaff, and Dr. McCaul. The Dean of Bristol then, in a speech of some length, objected to the paper being submitted to the House otherwise than as Dr. Spry's individual 'gravamina,' to be laid before a committee; alleging this course to be more according to precedent, and more favourable to free discussion. He therefore moved that a committee be appointed. Canon Wordsworth followed, with somewhat the same complaint, that a private committee wished the House to endorse their own scheme: adopting himself the other course, he presented 'gravamina' of his own. Archdeacon Grant recalled the House to its original motion, and deprecated the delay implied by referring the matter to a committee, when it was desirable that the House should assume its own deliberative functions. Archdeacon Hale then rose, and expressed his serious

apprehensions at this epoch of the Church. After some general remarks, the application of which might be various, about a reproach to the Church, and after the expression of a nervous alarm about furious and bigoted Churchmen, and an acknowledgment of differences of temper, he proceeded to the avowal of a decided disagreement with the mover and seconder of the motion. The six days' deliberations in which Dr. Spry and Archdeacon Denison had taken part, were painful to his sensitive mind, and suggested to him the necessity of suspicion and caution rather than of confidence with regard to any result they had come to. He objected to involving Convocation in precipitate measures for which neither the Church, nor the laity, nor the Sovereign were prepared. A committee had been proposed, (by the Dean of Bristol,) and he should cordially support it, as its resolutions would meet with respect; and even if Convocation were still in abeyance, he could imagine, with a sanguine and hopeful mind, their joyful adoption by all the powers of the law and the State, while society at large would hail their propositions with delight. He was *therefore* for delay (why this sequence, we know not, unless the archdeacon is afraid of being altogether overwhelmed with popularity). He wanted time (though for the enjoyment of what particular advantages he did not further detail).

Archdeacon Denison then remonstrated in earnest language against the shelving of these considerations by transferring them to a committee. He explained the motives of those who drew them up. They wished not to dictate to others, but were anxious that when the House met together, there should be some definite proposition before it. Any attempt to make the House endorse the statement of a private meeting, he thus disowned:—

‘Although I have well considered it, I am not pledged to everything contained in this paper; and therefore I am not going to ask Convocation to pledge itself to everything contained in that paper. But what we say is this, that everybody in England has a right to make statements of grievances to the governing power of the country. Now what every private body has a right to do, that the greatest corporation of this country—aye, the greatest corporation in the world—the Church of England, has a right to do. Now the only way in which she can speak in her collective capacity is through the voice of her Convocation, and therefore all we ask is this, that without one single person being supposed to be pledged to one thing in this paper, that we shall have time to consider first, whether the Convocation of the province of Canterbury of the Church of England shall, in its collective capacity, put before the Upper House of that province, and through them before the whole Anglican communion and the whole world, the great reasons why it considers it should be allowed to meet and deliberate for the good of the church. Now it seems to be implied, that by putting this particular representation on paper we meant to ask Convocation to endorse it. We meant no such thing—nothing of the kind ever

crossed our minds. All that we meant was to have something on which to found our prayer. We are asking his Grace and his surrogant brethren of the province of Canterbury, with whom it rests to adjourn or prorogue Convocation for the consideration of such matters as are contained in this paper, simply to allow us to sit for deliberation; and, in order to have something whereon to ground our prayer, we put this paper into their hands, without asking them to express any opinion. We simply seek to have some ground for the petition, that the Convocation for the province of Canterbury, being assembled in virtue of the royal summons to consider divers weighty matters in the Church, may be allowed, at least, to take time to put before the world the reasons why they think they should be allowed to consider these matters."

The House having now before it Dr. Spry's motion, the Dean of Bristol's amendment, besides the burden of Dr. Wordsworth's private 'gravamina,' the risk of confusion was prudently avoided by a further motion of Archdeacon Harrison, which Dr. Spry seconded, after withdrawing his own. The object of this motion was to adopt a middle course; to appoint, indeed, a committee, but to petition the Upper House that the prorogation should be so arranged as that the House might be able to receive the report of that committee. Archdeacon Hare agreed to this, and excused his share in the drawing up of the paper, he having acted by precedent; for eleven years ago he joined in something of the same kind under the sheltering wing of Archdeacon Hale. The Dean of Bristol declined, however, to agree with this concession; and as his former amendment fell to the ground with the motion on which it was founded, he moved a similar amendment to Archdeacon Harrison's motion. After another touching appeal from Dr. Wordsworth, in behalf of his 'gravamina;' the motion and the amendment, then before the House, were both passed with but little opposition; the Dean of Bristol's being, in fact, contained in the other; that of Archdeacon Harrison having the important addition which saved the swamping character implied by the simple election of a committee. The following is an authentic statement of the day's work:—

' RESOLUTIONS AND AMENDMENTS.

' Lower House of Convocation, Jerusalem Chamber, Friday, Nov. 12, 1852.

' 1. Dr. Spry moved, and Archdeacon of Lewes seconded, the original Resolution, as the title-page of representation.

' 2. Archdeacon of Ely moved, and Archdeacon of Chichester seconded, the direct negative.

' 3. The Dean of Bristol moved, and Archdeacon of London seconded, an Amendment for a "Committee of Grievances," to which to refer the representation; *without any message to the Upper House adverting to that representation.*

' 4. Archdeacon of Maidstone moved, and Dr. Spry seconded, a Resolution, *stating to the Upper House that an important representation had been introduced into*

the Lower House, and referred to a Committee of Grievances, and praying that the sitting of Convocation might be so ordered that the Lower House might be enabled in due time to receive and consider the report of such committee. Dr. Spry withdrawing the original Resolution, with the consent of the Archdeacon of Lewes, the Amendments of the Archdeacon of Ely and of the Dean of Bristol fell to the ground.

'5. The Dean of Bristol then suggested that it would be necessary, before passing the Archdeacon of Maidstone's Resolution, which stated that a "Committee of Grievances" had been appointed, to pass a Resolution appointing such committee, and referring the representation to it—he accordingly moved a resolution to that effect, which was seconded, and passed.

'6. Archdeacon of Maidstone's Resolution, as seconded by Dr. Spry, was then passed.'

From the Friday to the Tuesday, therefore, Convocation stood prorogued. This gave a reality to the affair, which nothing else had yet done. One Bishop, we know, and perhaps more, introduced into the bidding prayer, before his sermon on the intervening Sunday, a clause referring to the sacred Synod of the Church then assembled. The business of the Upper House on Tuesday was occupied with the Address, and, as we shall consider this in its final state, when describing the third day, we now confine ourselves to the substance of some speeches that were made upon it. The Upper House of Convocation, it cannot be denied, has come out before the world with far greater dignity and power than has been the lot of the bench of Bishops under any other form. The report of their sessions has done much to establish Convocation as the legitimate centre for such united action as our Episcopacy can aim at.

The Bishop of Winchester spoke openly before the world his real sentiments; and so far we respect, though we cannot agree with them. He thought, with many others, that there was extreme danger in the revival of synodical action. He considered that Wake's testimony proved they had no right to deliberate at all, without further licence from the Crown; and doubted whether an opinion, obtained by a one-sided party, even from the Attorney-general, was of much value, as sanctioning the counter statement. Having once passed the Rubicon, he knew not where they might be carried. He recounted the progress of the Church under existing circumstances, and feared Convocation would impede this, rather than aid it. This was the fullest speech made on that side.

The next to address the house was the Bishop of Salisbury. This speech we must give in his own words. Our own impression in reading it was that every line added an untold weight to the cause of Convocation, and confirmed it as with an iron grasp. It may not be every one's duty to take the same line of

no previous intercourse with any one on the subject; but, looking on men as they are, we concede to the Bishop of Salisbury, not only the perfect right to remain uncommitted to the very last, but the wisdom, in his own case, of doing so. Under the circumstances of the cautious, yet impartial and judicious qualities attached to his name, we felt, on the perusal of his words, that the cause we advocate was developing its influence far and wide over men and parties, and must soon be coextensive with all wise and faithful members of our Church; or the Bishop of Salisbury is forfeiting his character for good sense. His own practical course and his own sentiments he thus expresses:—

* The Bishop of Salisbury said that, considering the great importance and difficulty of the subject, he had carefully avoided expressing any opinion upon it, and had abstained altogether from any communication upon it with those who had been engaged in forwarding and promoting the views of this Convocation, to which his very reverend friend the Bishop of Winchester was opposed. He had desired to meet the subject with a mind unbiassed, as far as possible, at the meeting of the Synod, in order that he might then form a fair and impartial opinion of the propositions to be laid before it. He wished briefly to state the reasons which induced him to express his dissent to the address proposed by his Grace the President, and to give his assent to the amendment proposed by his Right Reverend friend the Bishop of Oxford. They were summoned, in obedience to her Majesty's orders, by his Grace, to give their advice upon all such matters as might tend to the well-being of the Church. Now, there could be no doubt that the matters referred to in the address were of grave importance. But in what manner were they dealt with in the address proposed for adoption by his Grace? Her Majesty was informed that on the subject of the revival of Convocation, some persons thought one thing, and some persons thought another; but this Synod, assembled here to offer its opinions upon matters affecting the Church, expressed nothing at all. That was really the proposition which was put before them that day. It appeared to him a very unconstitutional proposition. If the function of Convocation were to be in any manner referred to, he apprehended that her Majesty, or any one else, taking up the newspapers of the day, could not do so without knowing that one person thought one thing, and another another; but what her Majesty had a right to ask was, what they, the assembled Convocation, thought upon the subject? He need not refer to the royal declaration prefixed to the articles providing for the consideration of all matters under the Queen's licence. Her Majesty was not asked to initiate the proceedings of Convocation, but it was clearly the duty of the House to express its opinion whether or not that initiation should take effect or not. It was either desirable, or it was not, that it should proceed to the consideration of these matters; if it were desirable, they were surely the persons who ought to tender their humble desire to that effect, to her Majesty. If, on the other hand, it were not desirable, no reference ought to be made to the subject in the address, or, if referring to the subject, they should point out in what manner her Majesty might deal with the subject. The course proposed to be adopted was the one of all others the most likely to bring the Convocation into just contempt. They would appear as the Bishops of the Church assembled together in Synod, and who were unable to say anything at all upon a subject which had naturally excited many minds. In reply to what fell from his right reverend friend the Bishop of

Winchester, it appeared to him that the whole of his argument was addressed to the immediate revival of the active functions of Convocation, against attempting to proceed immediately to action. He was not aware that any contrary opinion had been expressed on that part of the subject. If he understood the amendment, it first endeavoured, in very grave and well-considered language, to allay apprehensions which had been sedulously fostered in the minds of many, that it would immediately proceed to the discussion of doctrinal questions. He had ventured to express in his charge to his clergy, that the desire which appeared to exist in the minds of men for new doctrinal opinions, appeared to him one of the most grave objections to the revival of synodical action in the Church. He was glad to believe that the consideration given to the subject since that period had greatly dispelled the grounds for fear on that head. But if they were not to adopt this amendment, what were they to do? Every one who had paid any attention to the subject appeared to be of opinion that something must be done. What, then, were they to do? His right reverend friend the Bishop of Winchester had argued that they were not in a position to do anything effectually. But if anything at all were to be done, they must make the best of the position which they occupied. All improvements must start from this one point. Therefore, while without desiring to see any hasty or immediate attempts at legislating through Convocation, he could not at the same time acquiesce in language which seemed to throw contempt upon that institution, and to brand it with impotence; and least of all could he do so at the present time, when it was so important not to use such language. But if Convocation, as it then existed, was not the most satisfactory power of legislation which could be devised for the Church, it could hardly be contended that all legislation for the Church—not only in matters of discipline, but also, should the occasion arise, in matters of doctrine—should be solely effected by civil legislation. If this and the Lower House were not the best constituted for the government of the Church, was the House of Commons a satisfactory legislature for the Church? The House of Commons was composed in no inconsiderable degree of those who were not members of the Church. He made no complaint of this. It was the natural consequence of the present unhappy divided state of the nation; and they could not surely be considered as forming the most fitting tribunal to deal with matters affecting the best interests of the Church. It appeared, therefore, important to him that their existence as a body should be preserved intact, and in due time, by all safe and cautious means be matured and improved. Upon these grounds it was that he felt himself unable to agree to the Address, as proposed by his Grace. The amendment proposed did not call upon them to apply for any present licence to go to business. He did not believe it could be the wish of his right reverend brother that any such licence should now be obtained; it was certainly not his own wish. The amendment proposed merely that the advice and assistance of the two Houses of Convocation should be obtained upon one point of immediate concern, to which the attention of the civil legislature had been again and again directed. It was not proposed that Convocation should proceed to legislation without the concurrence of the civil legislature. They were perfectly aware, even if the Royal licence were at any future time asked for and obtained, that any measures of legislation which were prepared and adopted in Convocation could only take a binding effect when they had received the concurrence of the legislature. Such an argument against the active power of Convocation ought, therefore, to be dismissed at once as a calumny too absurd to receive attention in this place. If they were of opinion that the Church should renounce all right of legislating on these matters, they might adopt the Address as proposed. If, on the other hand, they were desirous of main-

taining the Church as a spiritual corporation, happily in this country united with the State, it appeared to him that they were in no way transgressing the rights and legal position of that Church, in adopting the amendment of his right reverend friend, the Lord Bishop of Oxford.'

The Bishop of S. David's dissented both from the address proposed and the amendment, thinking it would be more advisable to insert into it a wish for the remodelling of Convocation, and to nominate a committee for a like purpose.

Then followed the Bishop of Exeter, the whole of whose powerful and beautiful speech we would gladly insert if possible, but as we cannot do that, we shall endeavour by a few extracts to convey its substance. He commended the Bishop of S. David's wish for reform in Convocation, but aptly adduced the reform of the civil parliament twenty years back, as a proof that a body like themselves need not suspend their functions, till that reform came to them, but rather help its accomplishment by their own energy. From this speaker he passed on to another.

'The right reverend prelate near him, the Bishop of Winchester, had said that the question of to-day was one of vital importance; he rejoiced to hear him say so: but how did he follow out his statement? Did he show them in what manner they ought to act in a case of this great importance? No; he said they ought to do nothing; the vital importance, then, of this Convocation was to be confined to simply doing nothing. But the right reverend prelate had said there was danger in adopting an amendment. What was the danger? He had listened in vain to hear anything definitely pointed out. All his right reverend friend recommended, ended in the advice that they were to do nothing. His right reverend friend had also alluded to the legal opinion referred to by his right reverend friend the Bishop of Oxford, and intimated, though not in direct terms, that the Attorney-General had deserted his duty to the Crown, in answering the case that had been brought before him by the Bishop of Oxford. He (the Bishop of Exeter,) did not know what might be the exact duties of an Attorney-General; but this he knew, that there were duties on the part of every advocate, whether of the highest or lowest rank, which he owed to the public, and a duty also which he owed to his profession. He (the Bishop of Exeter) never heard it stated that the present Attorney-General had a particular leaning to one side or the other. He was pledged to give his opinion on cases that might be submitted to him; and in this case, the Attorney-General no doubt considered that he was not restrained from giving such an opinion, by his duty to the Crown. But the opinion of the Attorney-General was not one of which they had heard for the first time. As he (the Bishop of Exeter) was recently sitting in the House of Lords, a noble lord was kind enough to speak to him on this subject. He said (alluding to what they were doing), "So long as you keep from either framing canons, or consulting to frame canons, there is nothing which can restrain you from doing so in law; it was mere folly to think differently; no lawyer would dare to give you such an opinion." He was not at liberty to mention the name of that noble and learned lord, though he had no doubt he might have obtained his permission to do so, had he asked; but if he were to tell them his name, they would at once admit that he was the highest legal authority in the land. But his right reverend brother had

referred to Archbishop Wake as an authority, and he (the Bishop of Exeter) too, happened to read Archbishop Wake, and he found that he was decidedly of opinion that Convocation may, notwithstanding the 25th Henry VIII., c. 19, debate and consult of other matters, and in order to other ends, but may not make provincial canons or constitutions. He said, "To deliberate of what might usefully be considered by them, and to petition the king thereupon for leave so to do. This, as it is not attempting to make a canon, &c., so does it not, I conceive, come within the design of that prohibition, which this act has laid upon them." But they were told that this was not a time for Convocation—that was the standing objection, the old stereotyped phrase, on all matters of reform. The proper time never arrived. If they did not do these things in troubled times, they were asked, in times of peace, would they disturb the peace and quiet of those times, by doing that which would be sounding the tocsin of confusion? If he were told that was not the time for violent measures, he would entirely concur with such an opinion. There were rights innate, inherent, and inalienable in the Church, which they had not been able to exercise since the time of Henry VIII., and it was not proposed, as far as he understood, that they should now go to the Crown for the purpose of obtaining power to exercise these rights. It was not proposed in the amendments to take strong measures, or act with a high hand.'

After quoting the Convocation Prayer, he concluded with a warmth of eloquence that, coming from so great a member of our Church, assumes an historic importance:—

'Dare they address themselves to the Throne of Grace with such language as that, and say that they would do nothing? He dare not, for one, be a party to such a proceeding. They had been called together, and were they to be told that they could do nothing? Were they to do nothing, though they prayed to God to enable them to do everything? After offering such a prayer to God, were they to say, We will do nothing? He was not in the hearts and minds of others of his right reverend brethren present. He knew not what thoughts might strike them. He was quite sure of knowing who they are, and what they are. He knew they did not desire them to pray to God day after day, unless they had some good reason for turning these words into words of mere idle form, and, as it appeared to him, a solemn mockery. Let it not be supposed that he thought their lordships would incur that guilt, which he felt they would be incurring if they were to adopt this do-nothing proposition. They were specially called upon to consider the history of the last thirty years, the present circumstance in the history of the Church of England and of the Church of Christ. He was rejoiced to think how very much good had been achieved during the last thirty years. In saying that, let him not be supposed to look without dismay (that was a strong word, but strong words were alone suitable to the occasion) at much that had passed in the course of this period, and more especially in the course of the last ten years. He had seen large defections from the Church, of men, not all of whom had been induced lightly to take the step they had done. He was bound in charity to think that they had not lightly ventured upon such a step. Some of them he had known—some of them he was wont to look upon as endowed with the highest intellect, and blessed with a spirit of thankfulness to God, which he revered, and would have been glad to emulate. Some of these had fallen. Fallen, he said, because he could not think of their defection from the Church of England to that of Rome, without feeling that it was a most grievous, most dangerous, most hideous fall. The God of them all would

know best what allowance to make for those feelings which led those men to their fall. There were some things that were open to human ken, and among these cases they could see some of the causes which had led to it. Be it that there had been an eagerness amongst some of the lowest classes of the hierarchy of Rome which may have misled them; others thought they might have been misled by the desire to imitate the excessive rituals of that Church: be it that there were some who longed for more power in the presbyters than the Church gave them; but he knew it of more than one—he knew it of those whom he most honoured—that they had gone because of what they felt to be the miserable thralldom of the Church to the State of this land. One, perhaps, of the most distinguished of those men—distinguished for qualities not only of intellect, in which he might have had his equals, but for other high qualities, in which he was not surpassed—had said, a year before he left them, how bitterly he felt the condition in which he was placed—how unwilling he would be to yield to his feelings—how painful at last it would be to him if he should be compelled to take that step which would be imposed upon him if he were once convinced that the Church was without the means of carrying on the functions of a Church. He (the Bishop of Exeter) knew that, at that time, one act of the episcopate, of the particulars of which he would not speak—aye, the announcement of an intent in that direction—would have stopped him in his fall, and, with him, the fall of many more. How many more would fall unless they were able, by God's grace, to satisfy them that they are a Church? They knew that they were an establishment; it was said also that they had all the advantages of an establishment. He believed that many of them were not satisfied to leave the benefits of that establishment—he had a strong feeling upon it—he would deplore as the greatest calamity that could befall the country, and certainly not the least that could befall the Church, if ever the Church and State were separated. But he knew that there were men in that Church, who, if the time should ever come that that Church should declare itself incompetent for the discharge of its essential duties and its vital actions, would leave it. He for one would leave that Church if ever that time should come. He would not go to Rome—nothing would induce him to go to that corrupt Church—but never, never, never would he act as a bishop of the Church of England, if the Church of England was placed in hopeless impotence under the feet of the temporal power of the State. He would conclude with the expression of an earnest hope that the excellent speech of the Bishop of S. David's might have the effect of drawing them all together in such a manner as might best promote the true interests of the Church.'

After some remarks from the Bishop of Lincoln, to the effect that they might be embarking on a stormy sea, he yet expressed a general consent to the Bishop of S. David's proposition, that the reforms necessary in Convocation should be referred to a committee.

The commencement of the Bishop of London's speech is of peculiar interest:—

'The Bishop of London commenced his remarks by reading a portion of the address presented by Convocation in 1841 and in 1847. The address of 1847, he stated, went further than that of 1841, and he concurred in the opinion of his right reverend brother the Bishop Oxford, that, if they were to agree to the clause of the Address now proposed, they would be making a step backward. It was quite true that the late Archbishop had felt considerable reluctance to adopt the words, because he felt, as did many others,

that there was great risk in any proposal for resuming, as they considered, the legislative functions, and not the deliberative functions, of Convocation, as now proposed. The late Archbishop had stated to him (the Bishop of London), "the time must come; our course is to act moderately—to say nothing to our brethren of the clergy as to when it will be safe for them to be entrusted with the power of initiating legislation in Church matters." Those were the late Archbishop's feelings, and he felt them strongly; and not long before his lamented decease, he said, "The time must come when some decisive measure must be taken with respect to Convocation." He felt that Convocation, as now constituted, was not an adequate representation of the Church of England; the laity would not long remain content to be altogether excluded from a share in the deliberations—direct or indirect—in the deliberations of the body, and he trusted that among the first questions to be submitted would be that of the constitution of Convocation itself. But it had been said that there had been increased agitation since the period when the last address was presented. It should not be forgotten that there existed a great deal of agitation on this subject previous to 1847. He wished his right reverend friend the Bishop of Winchester to consider whether many of the results to which he had alluded in connexion with the present state of the Church might not probably, under God's blessing, have been avoided, if, before that time, the Church had been permitted to resume its synodical functions; whether many of the evils, real or apparent, which disturbed the minds of many, and led some of them to the fatal extreme of desertion; whether, if some of the anomalies had been removed by the advice of rightly constituted synods, these evils might not have been averted.

After these eloquent and powerful addresses in favour of an active Convocation, it is remarkable to observe the extreme poverty of several which now followed on the other side. The Bishop of Llandaff conceived that nothing could be more disastrous than controversial discussion in Synod. In the public mind, it would seem like a wish to narrow the terms of communion in the Church. How this follows we cannot see, except by a process that would lead to the advocacy of total ignorance on religious truth, which could fix no bounds, for it knows none.

The Bishop of Worcester's address is so brief and compact, that we give it in its sublime wholeness:—

'The Bishop of Worcester said that he apprehended great danger from taking the first step, as when the first step was taken, it would be impossible to state what other steps would follow. Upon the whole, he thought, there was less danger and difficulty in going on as they had hitherto done, than in encountering all those dangers to the Church, which it appeared to him must be the result of Convocation meeting permanently for the despatch of business.'

The remarks of the Bishop of Norwich were still more brief, though, we regret to say, not so harmless, for they contain statements which are very incorrect. His Lordship has published a Charge against Convocation, and therefore we anticipated both greater fulness in the discussion of the subject with his brethren, and also greater accuracy in his knowledge of facts connected with it. The oration was as follows:—

'The Bishop of Norwich thought that the public was quite unprepared for the action of Convocation, and stated that the Proctors to the Lower House were elected by the clergy without the least idea that their duties would be more than formal, as in previous elections.'

With regard to the former of these two statements, the Bishop of Oxford gives a sufficient answer:—

'The Bishop of Oxford then resumed, and replied to the statement of the Bishop of Norwich, that the public were taken unawares by the proceedings of the Convocation. He contended that every one who was in the habit of reading the public journals, and of obtaining access to other means of information, must have been perfectly well aware of "the coming storm."'

But it may be thought that this Bishop is so occupied with the management of a remote and rural diocese, that he does not see the public journals. Referring, however, to the election of Proctors, as reported last August in the newspapers, we have an opportunity of ascertaining what he really did see, in the discharge of his official duties. He saw a very large assembly of his clergy filling the consistory court of his cathedral, propose and elect a Proctor for Convocation, from whom an open avowal was first required before the whole meeting, with himself in the chair, that he would do his part toward making Convocation a reality; a reality, as opposed to the formal duties hitherto performed. And that Proctor, we know, has fulfilled his word heartily and honestly.

After some further conversation on the Address, and the appointment of a Committee on Church Discipline, the House was prorogued to the following day.

The proceedings of Tuesday, in the Lower House, consisted of some conversation with regard to petitions. A discussion on the Prolocutor's nomination of the Committee, Dr. Wordsworth's 'gravamina,' Mr. Caswall's motion on 'Intercommunication with other Churches,' and Mr. Massingberd's resolution on the 'Aggression of the See of Rome.' During the first of these, a most unseemly attack was made on Dr. Mill, by Mr. Hayward Cox, which we can only describe, with justice to the facts of the case, by extracting the scene as reported in the 'Morning Chronicle':—

'Mr. Hayward Cox complained that the different dioceses in the Church were not sufficiently represented; but still more, he complained that on the list of the committee he found the name of a gentleman who, however distinguished for piety, amiability, and learning, had his name associated with very extreme views in the Church. He referred to a paper published more than twelve months ago, to which were attached the names of Archdeacon Wilberforce, Archdeacon Manning, and Dr. Mill, and which impugned the supremacy of the Crown. He hoped the house would support him in repudiating those extreme views, which were almost of a treasonable character.'

‘After some discussion,—

‘Dr. Mill rose and said that the paper which had been referred to the committee, part of which indeed had been drawn up by himself, contained his views on the Royal supremacy, and on that subject he had no further explanation to give. But he admitted that his views were by some parties considered to be extreme, and therefore, as he wished to consult the peace of the Church, he must request the Prolocutor to withdraw his name.

‘The Prolocutor said he felt that this was a somewhat ungenerous attack. Whatever might be the differences among members of the Church—and he differed on many points from Dr. Mill—still he was sure there was not in the Church of England a more faithful and attached member than Dr. Mill. Under other circumstances he would not have objected to any change in the committee; yet after the attack which had been made on the character of Dr. Mill, he felt that it would be a great imputation upon himself if the House did not confirm Dr. Mill’s nomination.

‘Mr. Cox defended himself from the charge of want of generosity. He admitted that his objection was personal, but, entertaining the objection, he felt bound to state the grounds of it.’

As there are here three persons, so do we perceive the differences of character which Archdeacon Hale had attributed to the members of the House. We regret the great violation of good manners on Mr. Cox’s part, as discreditable to the House; but still it was not an unmixed evil, as it gave an opportunity for the House to witness a peculiar manifestation of dignity and Christian humility on the part of Dr. Mill, and of calm but resolute authority on the part of the Prolocutor.

Archdeacon Garbett hesitated a good deal about serving on the Committee. He became generally discursive, but having been several times called to order, and at length brought to the point, he was evidently more disposed to accept so important an office than to decline it. Convocation enjoys a singular power of bringing its opponents round from motives of a secondary nature. There are members who seem to have commenced with the strongest prejudice against Convocation, because it gave High Churchmen an opportunity of speaking, but whose opinion was undoubtedly more favourable, when they enjoyed the pleasurable sensation of having the same opportunity themselves. Archdeacon Garbett seemed quite to like Convocation after the sound of his own voice had become identified with it.

We cannot but regret the omission of Archdeacon Denison from the committee, as the zeal he has shown in the cause, together with the indefatigable exertions he has made in its behalf, would seem, we think, to require that he should have been on the committee appointed to discuss a paper which he himself had been so instrumental in drawing up. If his own special request had not induced Mr. Massingberd to withdraw

his motion that it should be added, we doubt not that it would have been so. The committee stands thus:—

‘COMMITTEE OF GRIEVANCES.

The Dean of St. Paul's.

The Dean of Norwich.

The Dean of Wells.

Archdeacon of London.

Archdeacon of Middlesex.

Archdeacon of Lewes.

Archdeacon of St. Alban's.

Archdeacon of Winchester.

Archdeacon of Chichester.

Dr. Spry.

Dr. Mill.

Dr. Jelf.

Dr. Wordsworth.

Dr. M'Caul.

Dr. Jeremie.

Rev. G. B. Blomfield.

Rev. Frederick Vincent.

Hon. and Rev. Montague Villiers.

Rev. Francis Massingberd.

Ten to be a quorum.'

The other proceedings of this session we must pass over, and now commence the third day, Wednesday, the 17th.

This day's session only commenced in the Upper House at two o'clock, after the Lower House had time to consider the Address and send it back. As finally adopted, the Address stands thus; the last two paragraphs of which contain the matter about which debates had arisen:—

'Madam,—We, your Majesty's faithful subjects, the Archbishop, Bishops, and Clergy of the province of Canterbury, assembled in Convocation, most humbly approach your Majesty, with respectful assurances of loyal affection to your Majesty's throne and person.

'And we desire to add our sincere congratulations that since the last occasion when we enjoyed a similar privilege, it has pleased Almighty God to bless both your Majesty's royal family and the country at large with a measure of prosperity which demands our warmest thankfulness.

'Your Majesty has been graciously pleased to state to your assembled Parliament, that your Majesty has received assurances of a disposition on the part of foreign powers to maintain those friendly relations with this country which have already been prolonged beyond all former example. And never, perhaps, was there a time when the inhabitants of this land were more generally prosperous, more willingly obedient to the laws, or more loyally affected towards the Throne. It is our earnest prayer to Almighty God that he will continue to ourselves, and extend to all nations, the blessings of peace and unity.

'Here we earnestly desire to assure your Majesty of our deep sympathy with the sorrow which your Majesty has so graciously expressed, a sorrow which is even shared by foreign nations, for the loss which the empire is now mourning, in the death of that great warrior and statesman, to whom, above all, it has been owing, under God's all-ruling providence, that we have enjoyed this long and unprecedented peace and prosperity. We assure your Majesty that we prize, above the splendour of his greatest exploits, that high sense of duty which led him to devote all his faculties to the service of his Sovereign and his country, and to value his most glorious victories chiefly as they secured a lasting peace.

'The subject, however, on which your Majesty will expect us to feel the deepest interest is the state of religion in this land. And here there is much to encourage, whilst there is also much to lament, and much that we hope gradually to amend. Great exertions have been made during the last

thirty years, with the desire of providing the means of spiritual instruction for a population increasing beyond all former experience. Much has been done by the awakened liberality of individuals, assisted by recent legislative measures, towards enabling the Church to fulfil the ends of her Divine mission. Much, however, still remains to be done; and we assure your Majesty that our heartiest endeavours shall be used to relieve, wherever they exist, the spiritual wants of the population. We feel a confident persuasion that these our endeavours will be seconded by the pious and ready cooperation of our lay brethren in the Church. In connexion with this subject we cannot but observe, that although the population of England and Wales has been doubled in the last half century, the number of English and Welsh bishops remains nearly the same as it was three centuries ago—a state of things to which we beg respectfully to invite your Majesty's consideration.

'We trust, however, that if the Church has been unable to accomplish all that might be desired, it has yet given no slight proof of activity and power. Fewer churches were built during the whole of the last century than are now consecrated to the service of God in every successive year. Inadequate as are still the means of providing Christian education for the increasing numbers who require it, we thankfully acknowledge that great efforts have been made for its extension and improvement.

'And great and painful as are the privations of many of your Majesty's poorer subjects, in our crowded cities, it must be a peculiar source of satisfaction to your Majesty that, under the continuous and active encouragement of your Majesty's illustrious Consort, institutions have been formed, and are daily forming, to increase the comforts of the labouring classes, and to improve their moral and social condition; and, as all true charity has its origin in religious principle, we trust that in this instance also proof has been given of the influence of that faith which it is the duty of the Clergy to inculcate and maintain amongst the people entrusted to their charge. For whatever has been done or intended, of good, we desire to give God the glory, through our Lord Jesus Christ, being deeply conscious of the imperfection of all our endeavours.

'In thus referring to the subjects which appear to us especially to concern the well-being of the Church, we cannot omit to speak of those deliberative functions of this Convocation which many members of our Church desire to see again called into active exercise.

'We do not indeed deem it advisable, at the present moment, to petition your Majesty for your royal licence to transact such business as we may not enter upon without it; but we think it our duty respectfully to express our conviction, both that its legislative assemblies are an essential and most important part of the constitution of our Reformed Church, and that the circumstances of the present day make it alike more imperative to preserve, and, as far as possible, to improve them, and more particularly that the resumption of their active functions, in such manner as your Majesty, by your royal licence, may permit, may at no distant date be productive of much advantage. We know, indeed, that apprehensions have been entertained that in such case Convocation might address itself to the discussion of controverted questions of doctrine, and a spirit of strife and bitterness be thereby engendered, fatal to Christian charity, and dangerous alike to existing institutions and to our visible unity, and we, therefore, feel it to be our duty humbly to pray your Majesty to receive this our most solemn declaration of our hearty acceptance of the doctrinal formularies and liturgical offices of the Reformed Church, and our assurance that we regard them as inestimable blessings, and are resolved, by the help of God, to transmit them unimpaired to posterity. And further, that we not only recognise,

but highly prize, your Majesty's undoubted supremacy in all causes, ecclesiastical and civil, over all persons and in every part of your Majesty's dominions, as it was maintained in ancient times against the usurpations of the See of Rome, and was recovered and re-asserted at our Reformation. In connexion with this grave subject, we feel that your Majesty may expect from us the expression of our solemn protest against that fresh aggression of the Bishop of Rome, by which he has arrogated to himself the spiritual charge of this nation, thereby denying the existence of that branch of the Church Catholic which was planted in Britain in the primitive ages of Christianity, and has been preserved by a merciful Providence to this day, as well as against many which have preceded it; and we desire on this, our first occasion of addressing your Majesty since its occurrence, solemnly to protest in the face of Christendom, and to lay this our protest before your most gracious Majesty.'

After some conversation introduced by the Bishop of Oxford, with reference to the claim of Colonial Bishops to sit in Convocation, and also on the resolution of the Lower House with regard to the election of Proctors, it was agreed that these subjects should be considered.

Before prorogation the question naturally arose about the Archbishop's right to prorogue without '*consensu fratrum*.' We have already alluded to the position of the Metropolitan in Convocation, and marked out the very great preeminence he enjoys over his brother bishops, in the parliamentary character of Convocation; but to stretch this to an arbitrary control over the synodical deliberation of the House on those ecclesiastical subjects which now come before it, would be a distinct violation of those inherent rights of our Church's Synod, which are found in all the ancient precedents, and were most carefully protected in the concession of Edward I. What passed on the subject we lay before our readers, with the conclusion of the session:—

'His Grace was proceeding to the prorogation, when some communication passed between him and the Bishop of London. The Archbishop then requested the Prolocutor to withdraw for a moment, whilst the House conferred.

'The Bishop of Oxford said he was not aware his Grace was about to proceed to the adjournment. He did not wish to enter into any discussion at that time as to the right, to which his Grace had laid claim, of adjourning the house, without the consent of his brethren; but he protested against it, and he would enter his solemn protest against his Grace having any right to adjourn this sacred synod without *consensu fratrum*.

'The Archbishop, whilst the protest was being prepared, said a convenient time of meeting again would be soon after the meeting of Parliament in February.

'The Bishop of Salisbury said he should wish also to add his name to the protest.

'The Bishop of Oxford said the matter stood thus:—Her Majesty's Attorney-General had given his opinion that his Grace had not that power; and he (the Bishop) based on that a claim that his Grace should consult his suffragans upon it. If, after that, he should allow a contrary act to be done, without protesting, it would go in prejudice of the right so claimed.

'The Bishop of Chichester respectfully announced to his Grace that his name would be appended to the protest.

'The Bishop of S. David's made a similar announcement.

'The Prolocutor was again called in, and the proclamation read of the adjournment of Convocation to Wednesday, the 16th of February, at twelve o'clock, in the Jerusalem Chamber.

'Upon his withdrawing, their lordships knelt while the Archbishop pronounced the benediction, and the proceedings terminated, at twenty minutes to six o'clock.'

In the Lower House this day there was some conversation about the admission of the Press during the debate on the Address. Archdeacon Grant thought, that as they were about to discuss the proceedings of the Upper House, and might be brought into collision even with the grammatical expressions used in the Address, it would be advisable to exclude reporters.

Archdeacon Denison, the uniform advocate throughout the whole time for open door and free discussion, opposed this, and Archdeacon Garbett, in the following spirited address, taking the same line, demonstrated most warmly his growing interest in the subject:—

'Archdeacon Garbett said, all the world knew that this House had a constitutional right in this matter to sit in judgment on their superiors; and if the world knew that the only charge they could bring against their bishops, in a document of great length, and drawn up under circumstances of considerable difficulty, was, that the bishops had occasionally violated the rules of Priscian, he thought nothing could be more favourable for the chances of their avoiding a collision. But he would put the matter on a broader ground. They had already determined, after grave deliberation, that their proceedings should be made public, and he objected to that determination being now altered. He considered this meeting of Convocation as a vast experiment, which, as far as it could be legally carried out, he and his friends were willing to further to the utmost of their power. But still it must be remembered that they were on their trial, and the future meetings of this House would materially depend upon the manner in which their debates were conducted. Therefore, because the country—because the Houses of Parliament—because the 10,000 clergy of the province, who could hardly be said to be represented there—had a right to know their proceedings, he was strongly of opinion that reporters should remain.'

The motion was then withdrawn, and the Address considered. A few alterations were made, as the clauses came one by one under debate, but none were of any great importance. Archdeacon Hare proposed an amendment to that part of it in which allusion was made to the revival of synodical action, and put forward a suggestion in favour of a lay element of Convocation. The Prolocutor checked any general discussion on points thus brought before the House: confining the speakers to little more than the recital of their amendment.

Some complaints were made of this, but we think on the

whole, that he acted wisely, for a question of such importance as the admission of the laity could not possibly have been discussed at that time with any satisfaction or advantage. This amendment was withdrawn, and then followed some objections to the whole clause, as being the expression of a wish for synodical action. Dr. McCaul strongly condemned the whole movement as an effort to acquire 'spiritual domination.' Archdeacon Sinclair stated his view in the following words:—

'Archdeacon Sinclair believed that a large majority of the clergy, and an overwhelming majority of the laity, were opposed to the restoration of synodical action; and that an appeal to the laity would end in a very different result from what most members of that House anticipated.'

Archdeacon Garbett appeared, by these arguments, recalled in some degree to his original views, which, conflicting sadly with dawning impressions in another direction, produced an intellectual clash, which, in its turn, caused the whole scene before him to become wild and terrible, as when a thunder storm disturbs the serenity of a summer's evening. This state of mind was thus expressed:—

'Archdeacon Garbett had read all the articles, speeches, and pamphlets that had been published on this subject, and he was firmly convinced that the steps they had taken were the beginning of a spiritual and ecclesiastical revolution, which, if unarrested, must end in the ultimate ruin of the Church, and also of the nation.'

After this followed the only real occasion on which the opinion of the House, on the expediency of its own revival, was declared by a division. Mr. Hayward Cox was bold enough to propose an amendment to this effect. He founded his peculiar claim to do this, on the fact that he represented 700 clergy, though, if we remember right, only five of these were instrumental in the choice of him as their Proctor. He was seconded, not by any more populous choice than himself, but by his co-proctor, Mr. Squire, elected by the same large meeting of the Clergy of the diocese of S. David's.

The Prolocutor put the amendment to the House, and it was negatived by a very large majority.

The last communication of the Prolocutor was the following:—

'The Prolocutor further stated that no answer had been given by his Grace with respect to his approval or disapproval of the appointment of the committee on *gravamina*, and that the meetings of that committee must be dependent on the sanction of his Grace.'

The House was then prorogued to the 16th of February, and thus ended the November Sessions of Convocation, in the province of Canterbury.

With regard to the province of York, we stated that there

was a simplicity of detail, which would not render our task very laborious.

This Convocation was opened by Commission on the 5th of November, in the Chapter-house of York Cathedral. The Bishops of Ripon and Chester had arrived in the city, but as the Archbishop did not preside in person, they did not appear. Of the rest, all were present, but the Deans (Dean Erskine excepted), Mr. Headlam, and Mr. Goodenough, two octogenarians, Dr. Hook, who was preaching before the University of Oxford on that day, and the Clergy of the Isle of Man, who might well be excused by the stormy weather. The attendance, we believe, was more numerous than was reported in any newspaper, the names of several Archdeacons having been omitted in them.

The introductory forms are thus described in the *Guardian*—

‘The gallery and part of the floor of the chapter-house were filled with a large number of clergy and laity, who seemed to take an anxious interest in the proceedings.

‘The commissioners having taken their seats at a table at the east side of the chapter-house, and the very reverend the Deans, the venerable the Archdeacons, the reverend the Proctors for the clergy, having formed themselves into a semicircle in front of the table, the writ of her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen, and the mandate of his Grace the Archbishop of the province, were read aloud by the official. The præconizations of the Bishops and dignitaries and clergy of the province followed, in the course of which the usual protests from the diocese of Durham were handed in, and *more solito* rejected.’

Canon Trevor presented petitions and protests addressed to the Archbishop, on the subject of irregular elections; and also a petition addressed to Convocation, urging the discharge of its active functions. He was allowed to read the heads of it, but not to enter upon any discussion. Other petitions and protests followed, and proceedings terminated by the presiding commissioners pronouncing absentees contumacious, and declaring this Convocation to be prorogued and continued until May 18, 1853, or such other and intervening day as occasion may require. The following encouraging notice of the *Guardian*, sums up the account of this day :—

‘The chapter-house was speedily deserted, the proceedings having lasted little more than an hour. Upon the whole, however, there can be no doubt that the cause of the Church’s synodal rights and duties has made rapid strides in the northern as well as the southern province. The attendance of proctors this day was thrice as numerous as on the last similar occasion. Numerous petitions, and many of them numerously signed, were presented in favour of a revival of Convocation, in some fair and efficient form, and not one was introduced against it. The feeling of the laity present was, as far as it could be ascertained, decidedly at one with that of the petitioners and the vast majority of members of Convocation. A meeting of proctors was afterwards held in the great room belonging to the Architectural Society, and a memorial to the Archbishop was there prepared and signed,

which will be presented to his Grace in person by the Ven. Archdeacon Thorpe, to whom, and to the Rev. Canon Trevor, the thanks of Churchmen are due for their temperate and active exertions on this occasion.'

Being more anxious to convey to our readers the impression which this meeting left on the clergy themselves of the northern province, than to hazard any remarks of our own, we consulted a member of that Convocation, in whose active zeal and sound discretion we have the greatest confidence, while his high position in the Church commands respect for his opinion; the result is the following letter, which, with many thanks to the writer, we here give as the expression also of our own views:—

'I do not feel myself very well able or authorized to speak for others; but it would be very easy to express my own feelings about our late meeting of Convocation at York; and, as far as I have learnt, they are not very different from those entertained by others. I do not think there is any feeling of grievance or refusal of rights remaining from that meeting. The most that could have been desired, in the absence of a licence to proceed to business, was that we should have the liberty to address the Crown. This was not conceded, simply on the ground of precedent, that York never had before sent up such an address. The Archbishop also declined to attend in person, because the precedents were in favour of his opening the assembly by a commission. Nothing was done, or left undone, that in any way compromised any principle; and I should rather say that much anxiety was shown to prevent any suspicion of slight or disregard of the importance of the occasion.

'I think that what was done at York was in due proportion to what was done in the Jerusalem Chamber. The meeting was held with great decorum, and nothing was omitted, as to due form and order. The Sub-Registrar, who is an old man, made a good many mistakes in calling over the names of the Proctors; but I believe this was in some degree owing to the formation of new dioceses; and similar blunders were reported in the other Province. After this there was opportunity given for the reading and presenting of petitions, and for any remarks which those who presented them might make, short of raising a debate on their contents. Any question about disputed elections was declined, as unprecedented, unless the Convocation were licensed to proceed to business. It was evident that the question had gained progress, by the number of petitions and the full attendance of Proctors, but that which most marks progress, in this Province as well as in the other, is the remarkable selection of Proctors, many of them men of first-rate talent and character; and all, whether old or young, scarcely with an exception, the best that could be furnished from this Province. I think we ought not to desire any independent liberty for York without Canterbury, and therefore any petty stir for a few forms, more or less, is not worth thinking of. The great fact is, that the thinking portion of the Clergy, and to some extent the laity also, are alive to the importance of the question; and where a right is involved, justice must be done at last.'

We have now, as the concluding part of our task, to notice some few remarks and authoritative announcements which these proceedings called forth. We have seen Convocation actually at work, in both Houses, for three days, and leaving behind it acting committees of both Houses, and yet there was

no other licence except that which called them together. Surely this is the best proof that none other is wanted until Convocation feels itself in a position to pass canons for the general benefit of the Church. The accomplishment of this fact forced a very different tone of argument from 'The Times' newspaper to that it had formerly adopted. It had now to confess that, by some strange mystery, which they had been altogether ignorant of, Convocation was able to do a great deal without any unusual assent from the Crown. It had imagined all safe, as long as an agitation were kept up which prevented ministers from granting the royal assent; its suspicions had been as to whether Government did not really mean to do this.

But now let our readers consider some passages from the article of Monday the 15th, and contrast them with the line previously taken:—

'In spite of the formal and reiterated contradiction which was given in the name of the Government to the report that Convocation would be allowed to meet for the despatch of business, we have now the strongest possible argument in favour of our statement that this report was not unfounded. Convocation has met; it has proceeded to consider several important questions, some of which have been referred to a standing committee of the Lower House; it has received petitions in large numbers; debates of some hours' duration have taken place; and an amendment has been moved to the Address to the Crown, which is still under discussion, and seems likely to give rise to more serious and protracted proceedings. In short, whether these remarkable occurrences have taken place with or without the privity or design of Her Majesty's Government, it is undeniable that Convocation has recovered a greater degree of activity than it had enjoyed for nearly a century and a half; and that, for good or for evil, this assembly of the Church of England asserts claims to constitutional powers and rights of great antiquity, which it may be equally dangerous to admit or to deny.

'The proceedings of Convocation have for many years past begun and ended with the formality of an Address to the Crown, proposed by the Archbishop and agreed to by his suffragans and by the clergy. This Address has been used on the present occasion as the means or the pretext for opening a debate, which now stands adjourned till to-morrow, and which may be indefinitely extended to a great variety of subjects and a considerable period of time. The Bishop of Oxford, in a speech of an hour's length, intimated his intention of moving an amendment, which will have the effect of raising the question of the expediency of reviving the active powers of Convocation, and consequently of the nature of those powers; and should this amendment be carried by the prelates, it will necessarily be sent down to the Lower House, where it cannot fail to be discussed with the utmost animation. The Archbishop appears to have thought it invidious to oppose the proceedings at this stage, and we fear it will turn out that he has shown symptoms of hesitation, of which use will be made in the very first instance against his own Metropolitan prerogatives and power. For, among the propositions contended for by the Bishop of Oxford, the contumacious doctrine of the Lower House of Convocation in 1701 is revived in the Upper House in 1852, to the effect that the Archbishop has not the right to prorogue Convocation by his own free will and pleasure, but only *de consensu fratrum*—with the assent of the suffragan Bishops; and, to the

astonishment of those who have examined these questions, this assertion was found to be fortified by no less an opinion than that of Sir Frederick Thesiger, her Majesty's Attorney-General. It was further contended, and by the same Authority, that, although Convocation is debarred, by the Act of Submission of the reign of Henry VIII., from doing all the things therein set forth, without the royal licence, such as framing canons, &c., yet, for all purposes not included in that act, its powers of discussion are unimpaired. If these two propositions could be established, it is clear that the powers of Convocation would instantly assume a very important character; for the prorogation of its proceedings would no longer depend on the will of the Metropolitan, and the range of subjects open to its debates would be sufficiently wide to admit all the most exciting topics of ecclesiastical controversy.

'It is certainly a surprising, and perhaps a significant fact, that Lord Derby's Attorney-General should be quoted as the counsel by whose opinion these proceedings are supported; and that the pretensions of the High Church party are so far countenanced by the law officer who expressly represents the prerogatives of the Crown. But, with Parliament sitting, no ambiguity will much longer be allowed to prevail on this subject; and, indeed, the proceedings of Convocation itself will remove it. The House of Commons will learn with astonishment the resuscitation (if such it can be called) of a body claiming to exercise in the Church powers so nearly approaching to those of supreme legislative authority; and if this conflicting course of action were pursued by the Church to the extreme point at which some of its hot-headed leaders are driving, we should probably witness either a strong interposition of civil and parliamentary authority in Church affairs, or a disruption of the tie which unites the Church to the State.'

We shall now examine what attention the subject has yet attracted in the Houses of Parliament. On the same Monday upon which the above article appeared, Mr. Walpole was asked by Mr. J. A. Smith, whether there had been any communication between the Government and the Archbishop of Canterbury, with reference to the sitting of Convocation. His reply was as follows:—

'Mr. Walpole said that no communication such as the hon. gentleman had referred to had been made to any member of the Government—certainly none had been made to himself. As to the question whether the Convocation would be allowed to sit, he had to state that the usual course would be observed, and that was the intention of the Government from the beginning.'

On Friday the 19th another question was asked, and answered. We think the Home Secretary was unnecessarily officious, not to say indiscreet, in the statement of his own views and intentions; but this good result there is from his candour, that the cause of Convocation, with the success it has achieved, stands before the world on its own strength, and not upheld by the support of any Government, as some had imagined. Our readers, however, shall judge for themselves:—

'Sir John Shelley: I wish to put a question to the right honourable gentleman the Secretary of State for the Home Department, with reference

to an observation which fell from him on a former occasion as to the sitting of Convocation not being continued with the sanction of the Government. The question I have to ask is, whether, as we perceive the Convocation is postponed to February next, the sitting is then to be resumed, or whether it is adjourned in the usual way?

Mr. Secretary Walpole: I am much obliged to the hon. gentleman for asking the question, because I think a misunderstanding has prevailed with reference to the conduct of the Government as regards the Convocation and its prerogatives. Allow me to say that the usual course observed with reference to the Convocation is to leave it, according to law, to the Archbishop of Canterbury, either with or without the consent of his brethren—that is a question that is not determined—to prorogue Convocation when the Address is presented. That course the Government has not interfered with, nor could the Government be required to interfere at all unless the licence of the Crown was required, permitting them to meet to make canons or ordinances, or continue their sittings for such a purpose as that. What I said the other night was that the Archbishop of Canterbury had never made application to me or the members of the Government, and, as far as I am aware, that statement is perfectly correct. Until to-day I never saw the Archbishop of Canterbury on the subject. I stated, what was perfectly true, that I was determined never, on the part of the Government, to allow any deviation from the usual course relative to the sittings or powers of Convocation. The Government has strictly and steadily adhered to that determination. I have taken no part whatever in the matter, nor was I ever called upon to do so unless the Convocation required the licence of the Crown, or unless I had reason to believe that a different course of conduct was to be pursued from that which was pursued on previous occasions. The only deviation that has taken place on the present occasion is this—that the Address has been debated upon three days, instead of upon one, and that a committee has been appointed. The Government had nothing to do with the appointment of that committee. The Government could not interfere—my hon. friend shakes his head. If I am wrong it is from a misconception of the power of the Government on the point, but I believe the Government has no power to interfere at all until it comes to a question of prorogation. That question could not arise until the Address was answered, and the Address is not answered. I have formed a deliberate opinion with reference to the subject, and can assure the House that so long as I have the honour to hold the office I now hold, nothing will induce me to advise the Crown to grant a licence to Convocation to make canons. I have never made that declaration until I was called upon to make it; but I do make that declaration and entertain that opinion in the strongest manner, because I firmly believe that nothing would be so detrimental to the Church of England, or so likely to create divisions in that Church, as to revive Convocation for such a purpose.

On Monday, the 22d, the same question was asked of Lord Derby in the House of Lords. He prudently abstained from looking further or deeper into the state of the case than was necessary for his immediate object. He confined himself chiefly to the rehearsal of facts, with a tendency to calm any public apprehension that a great step had been made, beyond former times, in the action of Convocation. He did not anticipate, either, that the next session would be different from others. Reviewing his speech as a whole, we should say that he succeeded in altogether clearing the government of any suspicions that they

would promote Convocation, yet that he was anxious not to say anything irritating or offensive; and also, that he exhibited a disposition to ward off all necessity of taking any steps in the matter. The remarks he made on the committee were modestly given, with the profession that he was open to legal correction; therefore, we cannot be severe on them; still we must say explicitly that he spoke in ignorance. He was evidently not aware of the distinction which exists between the sessions of the civil parliament and of Convocation. Every sitting of Convocation is a session, and the end of it a prorogation, and Convocation has the same existence in the interval between the 17th of November and the 16th of February, that it had between Friday the 12th and Tuesday the 16th of November. Convocation is *continued* up to a certain date; and, therefore, it exists during that time. Consequently, Lord Derby's objection to the committee falls to the ground. All precedents again are unanimous in favour of committees. But it is no wonder that with the business on the hands of government last November, they should not have been able thoroughly to master the details of Convocation.

We lay his own words, however, before our readers, and shall consider them the last scene of that synodical drama which we have been representing on these pages under the heading of 'Convocation in November, 1852':—

'The Earl of Shaftesbury: I wish to know from the noble earl what are the intentions of her Majesty's Government with respect to Convocation. I believe it is adjourned now until the 16th of February, and I wish to know, will it, when it meets again, be allowed to continue its sittings? I wish also to know if the committee that has been appointed by Convocation will be allowed to continue its sittings?

The Earl of Derby: As far as her Majesty's Government are concerned there is no intention to make any deviation from the customary and ordinary course that for many years has been pursued with respect to Convocation, nor do I understand that there has been any deviation from the ordinary practice, although undoubtedly the meeting of Convocation in the course of the present year has been accompanied with considerable excitement, and has led to longer discussion; but the proceedings of Convocation have gone this year no further than they have gone in all the preceding years. They moved the Address to the Crown at the commencement of the session. It is true that the discussion upon that Address to the Crown—previous to which it would not have been decorous or proper that any power should be exercised by any party—has lasted for a period of three days; but although it has lasted for three days, this is not the first occasion on which it has led to discussion, or on which an amendment was discussed in Convocation. In the year 1817 the discussion lasted through the whole of one day, and an amendment was moved praying the Crown to re-establish the active powers of Convocation. The power of proroguing Convocation undoubtedly in the last resort rests with the Crown, but I believe there has been no instance in which that power was exercised by the Crown, at least for many years, the power being usually exercised

by his Grace the Archbishop, either acting (for that is a doubtful point) upon his own authority or with the advice of the other bishops. On the present occasion I understand that the usual and ordinary course has been adopted, and that the noble earl is mistaken in speaking of the adjournment of Convocation, for I am informed that the usual course has been pursued, not of adjourning, but of proroguing Convocation in the usual form. The Address having been voted to the Crown, the Convocation has been prorogued by the Archbishop to a period not far from being coincident with the time of the meeting of both Houses of Parliament after the recess. There is nothing unusual in the adjournment to a distant day to receive the answer of the Crown; it is not usual to receive an immediate answer; there is always a prorogation for the purpose of receiving the answer. I have not had the opportunity, since my noble friend gave notice of asking the question, of communicating with his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury, but I have no reason to suppose that when Convocation meet again he will depart from the practice that has hitherto universally prevailed, nor do I apprehend that he will do more than lay before Convocation the answer to the Address, and then in the usual form prorogue the sitting of Convocation. I will not anticipate that the Archbishop will depart from the usual course, or that the intervention of the Crown will be in any respect necessary; but this I have no hesitation in saying—that the Ministers of the Crown have no intention to advise her Majesty to depart from the ordinary course, or to sanction the revival of the active powers of Convocation. One word as to the committee. Officially, I know nothing of the committee. I know, officially, no more than this—that Convocation is prorogued, and that it has appointed a committee to investigate certain matters. It is a question of law on which it is not fit that I should pronounce an opinion, but I confess I don't understand myself how a body that is itself prorogued can give any official powers to any other body during its prorogation. I would venture to give an opinion on the point with great diffidence, but if I did, my opinion of the committee is that the powers of that committee are null and void; and, on the other hand, there is no power on the part of the Crown, or of any other body, to prevent a number of gentlemen meeting together in a private body to consider what will be for the advantage of the Church. That is a question of a legal nature, on which I don't think I ought to pronounce an opinion. It will be seen that from the body of gentlemen meeting, no official communication has been made to the Crown, and no interference can be made on the part of the Crown to interrupt their sittings.'

Thus much for the past. To predicate of the future formed no part of our first intentions. We know not what course will be taken by the chief advocates of Convocation; but we know from the evidence which we have been laying before our readers, that the principal Churchmen of the day, the most conspicuous among the bishops, for zeal, for earnestness, for talent, for experience in theological questions of the day, for the natural powers of eloquence, and also for personal influence with the rising statesmen of the day, are now heart and soul committed to the cause. The same may also be said of the clergy generally. We see that there is much to identify the cause with that judicious progress in political affairs, that desire to make good use of our institutions in Church and State by reforming them on the basis of their original theory, to which the common

sense and the energies of our leading politicians are now devoted. We doubt not, therefore, but that Convocation will soon be a popular cause even with the mass of the people. Difficulties vanish in a marvellous way as we approach them; even Mr. Secretary Walpole's 'deliberate opinion' as to the advice he would give to the Crown is now of individual and not of public interest. Since our own words have been in type, the Derby ministry thus committed to resist the cause, has vanished into thin air. Nor can we regret this, for however well disposed some members of it may have been to the Church, we feel convinced that they were not the men, whose political or even ecclesiastical association could advance the cause of Convocation. We have more hope of their successors, though at the time we write we can say but little of them, only just knowing how some of the different offices of the administration are filled. We yet have a good faith that our cause will prosper most with the uniform advocates of religious toleration, and non-interference on the part of the State with the proceedings of religious bodies. Mr. Gladstone, moreover, stands committed by his own writings on the subject to help the development of Convocation. We trust his wisdom and discretion to know what is practicable for the Government to do, and what is the best manner by which the abstract cause can be advanced, and also we feel sure that his firmness of character and the strength of his convictions will not allow any injustice to be done towards the Church by any cabinet of which he is a member.

We also have good hope that the present amalgamation of parties is a great security against any repetition of objectionable acts hitherto perpetrated by individual members even of the present cabinet. All Church questions must necessarily be softened down, for nothing would bring such a cabinet sooner to a dissolution of its several parts than any ill-judged expression of religious prejudice and personal pique which might be offensive to others. We also think that the fact of the amalgamation having taken place proves that even Lord John Russell perceives at length that the government of the country had better be carried on with a greater respect shown towards the Church than has unfortunately been sometimes the case in times past. The Church wishes for no precipitate measures or partial favours manifested to her. She desires fair play and justice, and in the general balance of interests by which, if well maintained, a free country keeps everything to its level, we see our best chance to obtain for the Church her inalienable right of synodical action.

ART. V.—*Report of her Majesty's Commissioners appointed to inquire into the State, Discipline, Studies, and Revenues of the University and Colleges of Oxford. Together with the Evidence and Appendix. 1852.*

THE history of our Universities—though it is with especial reference to Oxford that we must be understood to speak—resolves itself into three distinct periods. The first of these may be characterised as that of the University *par excellence*, before the rise of any of the collegiate foundations: these again, during their subordination to the University, constitute the second; followed, lastly, by the practical absorption at present exhibited of the University by the several colleges.

The following pages will be found to be exclusively occupied with the second and third of these periods, and their transition one into the other. The first may be at once dismissed with the brief statement, necessary only to the introduction of our subject, that the students who in early times resorted to Oxford for the sake of the instruction there imparted by its body of associated teachers, finding, as they did, no means of accommodation provided for them by the University, were obliged either to lodge in the houses of the townspeople, or else joined together in taking a house, under the superintendence of a Master of Arts. The extreme poverty of many of these students led, naturally, to the adoption of various provisions for their assistance; of which the most important for us to notice was the deposition of sums, in trust for their benefit, with the different monastic bodies scattered about the kingdom, who in some cases, in order to carry out their object more efficiently, gained possession of houses in Oxford. And here we find ourselves upon the edge of the second period of our history. Partly following and partly improving upon these means for the support of students, Walter de Merton, after at first settling a society upon his estates in Surrey, for the purpose of maintaining scholars in Oxford, subsequently removed it to Oxford, leaving the superintendence of the property to bailiffs. This residence of the governing body in Oxford, joined with its exemption, the first on record, from monastic vows, as also from the necessity on the part of the scholars of taking holy orders, entitles Merton to the claim of being the first college foundation in Oxford. Following the example of its foundation, the date of which is assigned to 1270, two years before the death of Henry III., University and Balliol Colleges, from being originally mere endowments lodged in external parties, realized, in 1280 and 1310 respectively, the same conception of a college. These again were

followed, at no great interval, and on much the same model, by Exeter, Oriel, and Queen's; the date of which last is 1340, the thirteenth year of King Edward III. Forty-six years afterwards, in the ninth year of Richard II., William of Wykeham, Bishop of Winchester and Chancellor of England, introduced a new feature into the collegiate system by his foundation of New College, the aim of which appears to have been the combination of all that was desirable in a monastic body with the benefits of a literary education. Accordingly, in the statutes of this college, (an example which was followed more or less closely by all succeeding ones,) we find the minutest prescriptions as to conversation, dress, and attendance upon the religious services of the society. New College was succeeded in order by Lincoln, All Souls, Magdalen (a college which set the first example of supplying gratuitous instruction to the University through its Praelectors), Brasenose and Corpus Christi Colleges, the latter of which again followed the example set by Magdalen. Christ Church, which summed up all that previous foundations had aimed at, followed in 1532; whilst Trinity and St. John's, founded in 1555, close the series of ante Reformation foundations, Jesus, Wadham, Pembroke, and Worcester being the production of later times. As might be supposed in the case of bodies whose foundations are scattered over centuries, it would be hopeless to look for any very minute agreement, either in respect of the objects aimed at or of the means prescribed for attaining them. And yet their general resemblance of character, consequent upon the imitation by each of those preceding it, together with the closeness of their intercommunion, warrant us in endeavouring to draw such a general sketch of the early collegiate system as may serve to contrast with that of our own day.

And here we must just call attention to the fact, which otherwise present circumstances might lead us to overlook, that (with one or two slight exceptions) the benefit of these institutions was strictly confined to the members on their respective foundations, the whole of which together formed but a small item in the sum total of university students, who, for the most part, as we have already observed, lived in lodgings or houses in the town. And next we must remark that all of these foundation members within their several colleges were maintained, and barely maintained, and that upon the distinct understanding that they were unprovided with means for self-support, under constant subjection to a strict rule of life and discipline, for the sole purposes of devotion and pursuit of a course of studies within the college and in the University, which, commencing at an age at which we now send our boys to school (the demies of Magdalen are eligible at twelve), terminated only with the

highest degrees which the University had to confer. Such an early age of admission, we may here remark, joined with the scanty means then at command for ascertaining the comparative abilities and attainments of different candidates, led the founders of colleges to insist on somewhat different points as constituting the grounds for preference, from what we should now be inclined to insist on. It is *aptitude for study* rather than any actual display of superior power, which, in conjunction with a good moral character, and a state of indigence such as would prevent the charity from being wasted, was to direct the electors in their choice.

Introduced into his college on such conditions, and for such purposes, the scholar or fellow (for the original distinction between them was but trifling) could not have regarded his office as any sinecure. Subjected to the minutest prescriptions as to his conversation and dress, and even his walks, from the day when he first set foot within its walls, till the time when he attained the highest university degrees, he had to go through a series of studies and public exercises, the nonfulfilment of which, in many colleges, constituted an *ipso facto* forfeiture of his position. And when he had at last reached the termination of his own university career, he was still bound to see it duly performed by others, besides being engaged still, as heretofore, in the performance of the religious services and other various minutiae imposed upon him by his college statutes. It may be further added, that any addition to the scanty means of subsistence provided for him within his college, as well as a prospect of succession to any emoluments outside its walls, were almost entirely denied him. Devotion and study within its precincts were to continue to be, as they had been at the commencement, the object of his existence.

Such is a brief picture of collegiate life down to the times shortly preceding the Reformation, when the various troubles which arose had the effect of diminishing the number of students in the University to such an extent as to enable the colleges to buy up all the houses for students at a cheap rate, and to connect them with their own bodies. Thus enlarged, the colleges were enabled to provide means of accommodation for all the students in the University, who thereupon ceased to lodge in the town—a change which was found so beneficial as to result in an order, passed, it would seem, in the reign of Elizabeth, that henceforth no student should be allowed to reside at Oxford except as an inmate of one of the colleges or connected halls; a measure, we may take this opportunity of saying, we should be most sorry to see again relaxed, as it is proposed to be by the Oxford Commissioners.

The connexion thus brought about between the commoners, or members of the University not on any college foundations, and the several collegiate bodies, was soon productive of vast changes in the character of these institutions themselves. It is indeed to the demand thereby occasioned for additional superintendence and instruction on the part of the colleges, duties hitherto mainly provided for by the University,—together with the degeneracy, from various causes, of the University exercises into empty forms; thus setting free their members at an early age from their prescribed course of studies,—that we must, for the most part, attribute our collegiate system under its present form. Each college, in short, became converted into a little University of its own. The fellows thus early set free from their studies, were raised from their original position of learners into that of teachers and professors,—they assumed the administration of the discipline for which they had been originally intended themselves; whilst many of those not so engaged began to ask, what was the use of residence in a University whose prescribed studies had fallen into desuetude, or within colleges whose religious services had been in a great measure discontinued, and where there was little now left to employ them. Then came the greater facility of indulging their wishes on these heads, by the increased college revenues, which they were unable to resist the temptation to divide; and lastly, the addition, partly by gift, partly by purchase, to the number of college livings, raised them one step higher into the rank of holders of provisional incomes, on the road to more substantial preferment. And so at last was brought about that change which, except we contemplate it in its successive stages of transition, makes it hard for us to believe that we see, in a fellow of our own days, the successor of those whose duties and mode of life we find detailed in the statutes of a Waynflete or a Wykeham.

And now, what is the conclusion to which we find ourselves driven? It must be plainly to the acceptance of one of these three alternatives; either the duty of returning to the original state of things, as prescribed by our college statutes,—a supposition which we may be pardoned for at once dismissing as simply impossible, as much so as to go back twenty years in our own lives; or, secondly, to take our stand upon the position in which we find ourselves, as defensible on the plea of change of circumstances,—a plea which we confess we cannot see how to urge without at the same time admitting its validity for our still further adaptation to the same circumstances, which accordingly presents itself to us as the last and, in our opinion, only alternative left open to us,—that of recognising to the full

all the wants of our day, and putting into full use all the means at our disposal for meeting them.

It may save us some trouble if, before proceeding to inquire what particular changes we most need, we first ascertain the instrument by which we may hope to see them effected; whether it is from the colleges,—either by themselves, or in conjunction with their visitors, or by some power external to both, that the necessary movement is to be expected.

A bare inspection of the college statute books will, we think, at once satisfy our readers of the hopelessness of looking for any work of extensive reform from the colleges themselves, even in concurrence with or by the direction of their visitors. Take, for instance, the injunctions of the founder of Magdalen. (Statutes, translated by Ward, p. 161.)

‘We enact, ordain, and will, that by no means and at no time shall it be lawful for the president or fellows of our college, now being or who hereafter shall be, collegiately, conjointly, or severally, nor for any other person of whatsoever dignity, state, degree, or condition he be, to publish, frame, ordain, enact, or dictate any other new statutes or ordinances, rules, constitutions, interpretations, variations, declarations, or expositions, repugnant to, derogating from, in discordance with, counter to, or different from our present statutes and ordinances.’

‘Also, we will that the intention or words of such our statutes and ordinances be nowise derogated from through any usage, custom, or abuse, or other act whatsoever; and, besides, we forbid that any interpretation of or about them be made, saving after the plain sense, common understanding, and grammatical and literal exposition, which is, in the highest degree and with the greatest aptitude, answerable to the case or doubt started whereon the question is grounded and in dispute.’—P. 163.

Thus much touching the power of the college; now for that of the visitor:—

‘We enact, ordain, and will, that it shall not be lawful for any successor of ours, being Bishop of Winchester,’ (the visitor,) ‘to publish, frame, or ordain new statutes in and for our college; but we will that the president, fellows, and scholars, do exercise and keep our statutes, by us published, and none else; and if any new statutes be published by any Bishop of Winchester, our successor, or by any other person, we will that the president, fellows, or scholars, be nowise bound thereto, but by virtue of our authority to us entrusted, we have freed the president and all other persons of our said college from the observance of any such.’—P. 162.

Language such as this must make it perfectly obvious that the power of self-adjustment, to any considerable extent, is denied alike to the colleges and to their visitors; which latter, indeed, are to be regarded rather as an integral part of the college system, than as an external and independent influence. And, indeed, if we greatly mistake not, it is a feeling that this is the case which has produced the state of things which we are now called upon to criticise. Between the letter of the statutes, on the one hand, and the compelling force of circum-

stances on the other, these bodies have been obliged to take refuge in a position which, selected with a view to be within call of either, stands apart alike from both. We are driven, then, to look about for the help of a power, if such may anywhere be found, which, whilst warranted in its interference in the task by a legitimate connexion with the object of its assistance, may yet be left free to act independently of those restrictions with which the other is clogged and fettered. The need of some such power is too obvious to be insisted on; and some such power, we venture to state, there has till lately always been found. Witness the case of Balliol College, whose present statutes are the fourth in succession since its foundation. And a passage in them well expresses the need there must always be for such occasional interference and adjustment:—

‘We do not issue these statutes because none previous have been issued, but because those statutes framed up to this time, have, by change of times and men after the fashion of human affairs, reached that point, that what in the beginning brought the framers profit and use, afterward, in the course of time, brought loss and the greatest mischief.’—(*Ball. Coll. Stat. c. 2.*)

And now, in the absence of all other possible helps, our readers must not be surprised if we proceed to argue for the legitimacy and need of interference in this work by the supreme Legislature—which, so long as it is confined within proper limits, is, we think, fully warranted on every sound principle of order and equity. Let us cast our eye over the vast and complicated organization of our social system—over all the local institutions which, of various kinds, and with different ends, still work together in one harmonious whole, and under the superintendence of one controlling energy. And, granting, as we are most anxious to do, to the fullest possible extent, that any interference on the part of the superior power, with those subordinate to it, is in itself most earnestly to be deprecated, as tending to impair the vital energy which each draws straight from its native soil, and for which any transfused force must prove but a wretched substitute, still there must be cases, especially after long periods of inaction, or great change of circumstances, when there is a still greater danger to be apprehended in the absence of all such interference, lest the whole system itself should be broken up by the cessation on the part of some of the subordinate powers from their proper work, or by the necessary modification of some of them, which calls for a corresponding readjustment of the rest. Such, then, to base it on its most abstract grounds, is an argument for the interference of the Legislature, as the only power capable of legitimately interfering with our collegiate bodies. We are prepared to be met

immediately with the plea, that the private character of these foundations exempts them from such a place amongst subordinate systems as we have just assigned them. And conceding to a great extent the force of this argument, we must yet submit that societies of this kind, however founded, yet do not cease to be integral parts of the whole community, from which, in their corporate no less than their individual capacity, they derive various kinds of benefits, and owe in return a variety of responsibilities. Especially, the fact of being put in possession of part of the sum total of a nation's wealth, must entitle that power which most nearly represents the nation to a general superintendence over the uses to which it is applied. And this argument acquires still additional force from the consideration, that the maintained possession of the property is owing to what may be looked upon as a constant interference on its behalf, by this same supreme power. Further, the right of superintendence is still strengthened when, by the sanction again of the highest power, the property has been permanently diverted from all ordinary uses, and appropriated to some particular ends, especially if the body invested with its possession has been further chartered with a grant of privileges and immunities. Surely it is not too much to say that all these provisions and concessions which have been made by the supreme power afford a most constitutional ground for the claim on its own behalf, to see that the ends for which the property was bestowed, though it be by private hands, are duly realized, and in default of such being the case, whether through fault or want of means in the bodies themselves, to step in and readjust them to their duties. It may be added, that the interference of the supreme Legislature with the statutes has been actually exercised—at least in one important instance, in the prohibition of certain religious services, in the face of the most positive injunctions of the founders; and the colleges, by obeying this prohibition at the cost of the statutes, have so far acknowledged this right of the Legislature's interference.

Again, the fact which we have above pointed out, of the assumption by the colleges of great part of the duties originally performed by the University, must have the effect of so far bringing the colleges under the same authority with the University. If the colleges have constituted themselves the University, they must not complain if the University, or the powers which represent it, come forward and claim to see that they do the University's work efficiently. And whatever degree of subordination may be shown to have existed in the case of the University towards the supreme power in the State, so as to invest the latter with a claim to direct interference in its affairs,

—a claim which we believe our ablest lawyers are unanimous in affirming as constitutional,—the same degree of subordination must be allowed to have been voluntarily entered into by the colleges themselves, so as in fact to bring them so far into the very relation from which their original character at first in part exempted them.

We repeat, then, that we can see no reasonable grounds for objection, under the circumstance of the admitted wide departure of the colleges from their statutes, against the State's interference with these bodies. Nay, we think it is a duty which it is urgently called upon to perform, supposing it, of course, to undertake the task with the intention of conforming them as far as possible to the main ends of their several founders. Let us now turn to the inquiry, in what particular ways this may be best effected.

We have seen how the colleges, from the simple foundations which they at first were, for the support of a limited number of indigent students in the University, have gradually become places of accommodation and means of instruction for all, whilst the fellows on the foundation have been raised from the rank of students which they originally occupied into that of superiors and teachers, thus leaving little to the University to perform beyond the examinations which it imposes for the B.A. degree, and the offer of a certain number of public lectures in addition to those given in the colleges by their respective tutors. Now, without in the least wishing to find fault with this change, which we believe to have been the natural and necessary result of circumstances which we are only desirous of conforming ourselves to as fully as possible, it is yet right that we should ask the question, whether in this transfer of machinery from one purpose to another, the whole of it has been brought into play under the present as it was under the former arrangement. Did all the fellows begin to teach and to administer discipline, to apply themselves to some collegiate or University duties, in proportion as they found themselves relieved from their original work? And here, we are afraid, we must confess that in the case of those colleges, at any rate, which are possessed of any large number of fellows, it is impossible to reply that they have done so. There are colleges in which not a tithe of their fellows are so employed. There is a college numbering forty fellows, in which not one, we believe, is so employed. And granting that out of the numbers thus left free to act as they pleased, some have been always found to devote themselves to a life of study within their colleges, and have so practically realized their founder's intentions, still we cannot assert that this has been otherwise than the exception to the general rule; and we think that there is therefore ample reason for the readjustment of these societies,

whether it be by a fuller application of their machinery as it at present exists to the work before it, or by its adaptation to some fresh purposes in as near as possible conformity with its original or self-assumed aims. And here we may venture to suggest as a very practicable instance of the former of these two alternatives, the distribution amongst several of the fellows of every college of the subjects which at present are heaped in the most indiscriminate manner upon the persons of two or three tutors, who are expected to acquit themselves as at once deep theologians, accurate critics, expert in composition, adepts in the mysteries and intricacies of science and logic, well read in all the departments of ancient, and we must now add modern history, not to mention mathematics, chemistry, and geology. There cannot, we think, be the slightest doubt that the increase of college lectureships on these separate heads would prove of inestimable service to the student, who would thus be brought into contact with his tutors in their strongest points, whilst the tutor would find himself possessed of sufficient leisure to pursue his one subject to its end, as well as to bestow an amount of individual attention upon his pupils, which more than anything else would obviate the necessity of private tuition. We must, however, confess our suspicion that some few subjects, such as those last named in the above list, might be found to command so small a class in their respective colleges, as to make it desirable for several colleges at least to combine in the work, if not for the University itself, to provide a staff somewhat corresponding to the University Lectures recommended by the Commissioners. There is, indeed, something almost approaching to an absurdity in the notion of twenty large establishments, all engaged at once upon an amount of material which was barely sufficient to employ one of them. Still, after all, the vast majority of subjects would, we are convinced, for the reasons we have above given, be best worked by separate lecturers in the several colleges. Such a distribution, then, of the sum total of tutorial instruction, would, along with the other practical departments of the collegiate system, furnish scope, we may venture to say, for a majority of fellows in a large majority of the colleges. We may further suggest the necessity of leaving a certain margin of fellowships not so directly employed, as a stock to draw upon, as occasion requires. Not, however, that we wish to extend this so as to cover the thirty or forty fellowships which are to be found in several colleges. And so the question again comes round to us, though under a somewhat modified form, What is to be done with the surplus number of our unemployed fellowships? And here we find ourselves surrounded by a variety of claims, each in itself perfectly admissible,

only we shall do well to bear in mind, that with a limited amount of material we must not be content to do good, we must endeavour to do the best. We may, perhaps, venture to reduce these claims under the three following heads:— 1. The proposal to remove all restrictions which these fellowships at present labour under as regards locality or kindred, and to throw them open to all candidates as rewards for distinction in the university career; 2. The conversion of particular fellowships unto university professorships, as proposed by the Oxford Commissioners in the case of Magdalen, Corpus and All Souls; and, 3. Their conversion into terminable scholarships. Let us weigh briefly these several proposals in themselves, and against one another. The first, then, has the advantage of looking like the least alteration upon our present system, as it would leave the number of fellows in each college undiminished. But, reserving for the present the question of the propriety of removing the restrictions imposed upon the college fellowships, we must confess that we entertain considerable doubts as to the preferableness of this proposal to either of the other alternatives. In the first place, we have no particular affection for places without any definite duties attached to them, especially when bestowed at an age which is too early to be rewarded by a pension. And we cannot but think that ample means for all due incitement to study may be found in the prospect of advancement to the tutorial and professorial departments (especially if increased) within the University, as well as in all the avenues to fame and emolument without, which the class list and other distinctions lay open. The proposal, in short, seems to us to call for an expenditure which, however justifiable in itself, is not so under present circumstances, which call louder for its application elsewhere. Nor indeed has it the advantage which at first sight it may appear to have, of being in conformity with the founder's object in founding the fellowships. He intended them for maintenances during study, whereas this converts them, as we have before said, into pensions after it.

We have nothing to urge against the second proposal, that, namely, for converting a certain number of fellowships into university professorships; if, indeed, this be preferable to the measure proposed at Cambridge, of laying a tax upon all the fellowships for the same purpose. We have already admitted the fact of the general responsibility assumed by the several colleges towards the University; beside which, the University seems to have especial claims on Magdalen and Corpus at least, on the grounds of their own statutes. There are two points, however, in the recommendation of the Oxford Commissioners on this head, in which we cannot feel ourselves called on to

concur. The first of these is, that the professors thus reposing on a substratum of two or three college fellowships each, should nevertheless be in the nomination, not of the body which elects to these fellowships, but of the Crown. It is worth remarking, that the Cambridge Commissioners, in recommending the creation of a somewhat similar class at the sister University, have yet proposed to reserve the right of nomination within the University: and we must confess we see no justifiable ground for transferring the nomination elsewhere,—least of all to the Crown, a term which, properly translated, means nothing more than the prime minister of the day. However justifiable the occasional interference of the higher powers may be in the affairs of the colleges, we are not prepared to convert that right into a permanent influence, and that, one in which, as a general rule, we cannot expect to find any great degree of sympathy with these institutions. The second point on which we wish to express a difference of opinion from that of the Commissioners, is the ambiguous kind of position, partly that of fellow, partly of professor, which they propose to assign them. As professors, they are to be allowed to marry; as fellows, to retain the right of administering the college property; whereas we should prefer to see this amphibious kind of creation be made to assume a more definite form,—in short, to detach him from his connexion with the college, with whose system he would but ill accord, and assign him a position similar to that of the other professors, still deriving his nomination from the same source from which he derived his income.

We come now to the third suggested alternative,—that of converting the surplus fellowships into scholarships terminable with the university career,—one which we are disposed most of all to favour, as the one most in conformity with the founders' intentions, and most satisfying the demands of the present day. We have already noticed the originally identical purpose, of both fellowships and scholarships, that, namely, of maintenance during the pursuit of university studies. And in tracing the deviation which the former of these two classes have made from their original track, we must not forget that (with one exception shortly to be noticed) the latter have kept throughout to theirs. Scholarships are still as they were in the beginning, provisions, or in part provisions, for maintenance during the university career. The question then at once suggests itself, why, if scholarships now answer the end which was originally answered by fellowships, should not those fellowships which are not required for other purposes be reduced to their original purpose by being converted into scholarships, a process which would at once supply the means for carrying out all the

founders' intentions, whilst in the remaining fellowships means would be continued to be provided for carrying on the work of tuition and superintendence, and every other department of collegiate life, in conformity with modern requirements.

In urging the propriety of such a step, we must, however, invite attention to one point in the present working of the scholarship system which seems to us very capable of improvement. We have just said that, with one exception, the scholars of the present day answer to those of the founders' time,—but this one exception is an important one. At the present day it is notorious that a large proportion of the scholarships are sought after, not so much for the money payment which is attached to them, as for the distinction which they confer. Consequently, in very many instances, where the scholarship is gained by students well provided with the means of supporting themselves, the founder's object is entirely disregarded, and the money is thrown away. Surely it is possible to remedy this,—to maintain all the ends that are gained by the present system, but at a cheaper rate. There is no reason why the emolument should, as a matter of course, accompany a distinction which is sought for its own sake. Let the scholarships, if necessary for the purpose of competition, be maintained just as they are, only, in order to the reception of the income, or beyond a certain sum,—say, to go in the purchase of books,—let the scholar be obliged to prove an amount of poverty which justifies his reception of it. The sums thus saved might go to form a fund for exhibitions, to be bestowed on real objects of the founder's charity, such, in fact, as the founder himself contemplated its bestowal on. Such a course, we submit, would go far towards supplying that daily increasing demand for cheap education, which exists side by side with the most lavish expenditure of college funds upon objects which do not in the least require it.

But before quitting this subject, we have one remark to make upon a word which we have had occasion to make use of during the course of it—*poverty*. What do we mean by it? If we can trust its general acceptation, it is a term of such indefinitely expansive powers, as to have become practically of no meaning at all. A country gentleman of thousands a-year, if he happen only to have a large family, and to be living up to his income, thinks himself entitled to call himself poor. And so, indeed, he may, when he compares himself with his neighbour who, with an equal income, has a smaller family, or spends less. But to assume to himself this epithet, when it is a question whether he is entitled to the charity of a college founder, is a simple abuse of the word. Without ourselves attempting to reduce it within its proper dimensions,—a task, however well

worthy of those who have a founder's charity to dispense,—we must be content to suggest one practical method of dealing with the question: let all applications on the score of poverty be only required to be made with a full statement in writing of the circumstances which constitute the claim, when, not to speak of the many who will thus be at once shamed out of offering themselves, there will be a comparative standard gained by which to measure those who do.

Having said thus much as to the most desirable purposes to which the surplus revenues of the colleges can be applied, let us next turn to the proposed modifications respecting the eligibility to, and tenure of, the fellowships which remain. Some, indeed, of these are so plainly called for, as to need no discussion of ours, such as the doing away with the eligibility of under-graduates to college fellowships, (which the altered position of fellows of a college obviously demands,) and again, the removal of limitations to those of M.A. standing, where such exist. The same may be said of the proposal to cut off the succession, where it at present exists, of scholars to fellowships on the same foundation, a measure which both the altered character of the fellowships, interposing as it does as a wide chasm, where originally it was but a single step, between them and the scholarships, as well as the experience of centuries, have demonstrated to be necessary. We can see no objection, further, to the limitation of the value of fellowships to 300*l.* a-year, as proposed by the Commissioners, nor to the removal of the necessity to proceed to higher degrees than that of M.A., where such injunctions are found, since the grounds for the injunctions have long ceased to exist. It will not be expected that we should say much on the question of celibacy as a necessary condition of tenure of a fellowship, since it is one which the Commissioners themselves propose to retain, with the exception of the case of the professor fellows (whom we have already expressed a wish to see cease to be fellows) and that of University lecturers, whom they would allow to retain their fellowships (where they had them) upon marriage. We must confess that we should be sorry to mar the consistency of the college system merely for the sake of these possible cases, especially as the lectureships ought in themselves to be made quite capable of maintaining married men.

The question of residence as a necessary condition of tenure of a fellowship, has been already practically disposed of by the recommendation that means of employment within the colleges should be provided for the majority of fellows, upon whom residence would thus be entailed as a matter of course. Beyond that we should not wish to see a condition imposed, which

might prove vexatious, and could produce but little advantage. In itself residence does not necessarily superinduce study, whilst want of liberty of action is a positive and weighty evil.

We cannot entirely pass over the recommendation of the Commissioners to abolish all oaths imposed by the college statutes and declarations against change in them. Although after the changes we have allowed to have taken place in the collegiate system, and the still further changes which we admit to be called for, it is of course impossible to contend for the continuance of the present practice of taking the oaths verbatim as they occur in the statutes, still it does seem to us most necessary that these should not be discontinued without something positive, whether it be in the way of oath or declaration, being substituted for them; nor should we wish to see any great facility given for future changes. Of course, the concurrence of the visitor, if not of still higher powers, would be deemed requisite.

In the proposed additions to the visitatorial powers, as contained in sections 39 and 45 of the conclusion to the Report, we see nothing material to object to, though in the recommendation with which the last of these concludes, that the visitor should be called upon to lay a copy before the sovereign of the Report which it is proposed that each college under his jurisdiction should yearly forward him, on their state, discipline, studies, and revenues, we see another instance of an attempt to bring the colleges more and more under a permanent external influence, or rather, to insinuate that influence into the heart of the college system, against which we have already protested, in the case of the proposed professor fellowships.

We come now to a point which we have reserved last, in order to be most explicit upon it,—the proposal to remove from fellowships and scholarships all restrictions in respect of family or birth-place, and to throw them open alike to all comers. And here we shall perhaps acquit ourselves best of the task, if we endeavour, in the first place, to state what appear to us the weightiest arguments on either side of this very important question; and we will begin by stating the case as well as we can, for the defence of the continuance of the limitations as at present imposed. The first, then, and, as it would seem, main argument, is to be found in the strict injunctions to show, at least, a decided preference, in the election of fellows and scholars, either for the founder's own kindred, or for natives of particular localities, such as the place of the founder's birth, or the counties in which the college property was situated, or such as they believed to lie under peculiar disadvantages of some kind or other, which they thus attempted

to alleviate. Correlative, of course, to these injunctions is the established claim of these particular localities or families upon the several colleges, and the consequent injustice done them by the removal of the connexion. Again, if we may trust the assertions of some of our ablest lawyers, any modification of the founder's injunctions on these points would necessarily lead to a wider extension of the same principle, and raise questions of which it is impossible to see the termination, both as regards the observance of testamentary bequests, and the tenure of property generally. Again, there is what we may call the historical and traditionary argument for their maintenance. The character of our Universities is impressed almost wholly by our colleges, and the colleges themselves owe very much of their effect to the unbroken continuity of their history up to the period of their foundation, which invests them with an almost sacred air, productive again of a sense of reverence towards them, which is a very main element in the purposes which they subserve of university education. But, once begin to disturb this historical basis on which they rest, or mar the original proportions of the structure, and you impair their usefulness in the very respect in which you seek to improve them. And further, in committing this error, if such it be, you commit one which is totally irrevocable; once snap the thread which binds us to the past, and it is hopeless to seek to recover it.

Another practical argument may be urged in the same behalf, in the fact of the unequal value of the fellowships, as well as the unequal amount of incidental advantages attached to them in the several colleges; which, if it were not for the restrictions of various kinds imposed upon each, which often confine the ablest men within inferior colleges, would lead to a concentration of all the ablest men in some few of the best colleges, to the great disadvantage of all the rest. Though, at present, the best men may not always get provided with the best positions, still that is a fault not peculiar to Oxford, and the University is much better served by them at present, than it would be if they did.

Again, it may be questioned whether, amongst those who eventually raise themselves to the highest eminence of ability and attainments, there are not often many who have done so only by a slow development of intellect, and continued application, which, at the period of their election to a fellowship, would have ill fitted them to compete with the more showy and superficial powers of their opponents; a class of men, it may be argued, who are especially favoured by the present system of restrictions, and who, in the event of their removal, would be

quite debarred from election to college fellowships. And even granting that, for the purpose of securing men of this stamp, we must calculate upon the admission, along with them, of a vast number of others of inferior abilities, still it may be questioned whether a certain amount of men even of ordinary attainments, so long as combined—as precautions may always be taken that it shall be—with high moral character, and the degree of power necessary for the ordinary routine of college life,—whether such a class might not be found very advantageous in tempering the otherwise too excessive tendency to mere intellectualism, in which a society composed exclusively of men of the highest powers is apt to exhibit itself. Granting, that at present the vessel wants lightening for her voyage, let us at least take care to ensure a sufficiency of ballast. Lastly, we may mention the argument that any such alteration as that proposed in the founders' bequests, must have the effect of diminishing the number of benefactions hereafter for similar purposes. Let us now endeavour to do such justice as we may to the opposite side of the case.

And first, there is the answer, that the localities themselves which were the subjects of the founders' benefactions are no longer what they were, or at least stand no longer in the same relation to the college as they originally did. Some that were selected because they lay under peculiar disadvantages, have since had those disadvantages removed; as in the case of Queen's College, some of whose fellowships are ordered to be assigned in preference to natives of Cumberland or Westmoreland, 'on account of the devastation of the founder's country, the indigence of persons in it, and the unusual scarcity of education in it;' reasons, of which the first has wholly ceased, and the others are at least much modified. Other districts, again, have had benefactions bestowed upon them, simply to raise them to the same level with their neighbours. Thus the second founder of Lincoln College, in limiting the foundations of his predecessor, declares that he does so 'not from being blinded by a carnal affection for natives of Lincoln, but, because they had been hitherto excluded by the carnal affection of other founders.' Such ends would of course be equally provided for by a general removal of all restrictions. In many cases, again, the ground of limitation is stated to be the possession of property by the colleges in particular districts, whereas the college properties have in some cases since shifted their ground, or at least acquired footing in fresh localities, which therefore ought, by the same argument, to be placed upon the same level. Nor ought we to pass entirely unnoticed the vast additions made to our dominions since the founders' life-time; which it is fair to

suppose might, had they existed in their times, come in for their share of recognition.

We have also to take into account the change which these several localities have undergone since the founders' time, in respect of their inhabitants. Professor Brown states in his evidence to the Commission, (p. 158,) 'that the founder of Magdalen directs that certain fellows and demies should be elected 'from persons born in the city of London, meaning thereby, to 'benefit the families of tradesmen and merchants, &c. residing 'therein; now in the present day, scarcely any of this class of persons which he intended to benefit reside in the city.' To this we must add the vast change of residence now brought about by the immense increase of facility in travelling, as compared with that of the founders' times. Mr. Senior goes so far as to state in his evidence, that few persons have any real connexion with the place where they happen to be born, and if by connexion is meant one which reaches back to the time when the benefit was first conferred, this is perhaps not very far from the truth. The same facility in travelling must be also allowed often to result in the birth of persons away from those districts with which they are really connected, and their consequent exclusion from their due privileges.

Perhaps a still stronger plea in favour of doing away with the present system of limitations, may be grounded on the difference of persons who now are elected to the college fellowships, from those intended by the founder. Not to speak of the different rank of society from which our present fellows are generally drawn, from that which he intended to benefit,—a difference so great, that if he were to make his appearance in his college at the present day, he would probably dismiss all that he found, as too wealthy to be the objects of his benefactions,—we must further take into consideration the total change of character and object which has since come over the college fellowships, so as to demand a corresponding change in the persons selected to fill them. As we have already stated, the fellowships are no longer maintenances during the expense of education, but positions for administering this education to others; a change which requires greater precautions now than formerly in the selection of persons to fill them. In short, the fellowship system, as at present constituted, must be viewed in the light of a modern superstructure to the original foundation, and consequently not subject to its limitations, especially as all the ends of the original foundation may be still realized by the extension of the scholarship department,—answering, as this continues to do, almost all the ends of the original fellowships,—and by its continuance, if necessary, in connexion with particular localities.

In answer to the argument as above drawn from the supposed centralization of the ablest men, which a removal of restrictions would produce, it must on the other hand be taken into account that the present system, besides that it does not reward men according to their respective deserts, also has the effect of depriving the University of the services of some of its ablest sons, who, from the want of vacancies in their particular counties at the time when they require them, are often forced to quit the University altogether. Moreover, a partial remedy to the inequalities as they at present exist would be found in the proposed limitation of the value of fellowships to sums not exceeding 300*l.* nor falling short of 150*l.* a-year.

The legal argument on the other side of the case may be partly met by the acknowledged fact of the tendency which the law has shown in modern times to modify the power of entail, which may be construed into a reasonable presumption that it would look with a more lenient eye now than formerly upon attempts, where shown to be desirable, to cut off the succession to college fellowships at present restricted to particular districts or families; besides that, in regard to the latter, a power of this kind has actually been exercised by some of the colleges in the refusal to elect beyond a certain number of founder's kin, a measure which they themselves have adopted with a view to prevent their founder's injunctions taking full effect—thereby, it must be allowed, affording a precedent for further steps in the same direction. And generally it may be said, that even supposing a measure of this kind to open a wide question of law, which hitherto has been left untouched, still this is only what is being constantly done in other departments of it; nor is the difficulty of a duty any argument against its execution.

And in reply to the argument drawn from the necessity of preserving the colleges upon their historical and traditional basis, it may be said that their identity, like that of our own bodies, is fully compatible with change in both; a process which, indeed, must necessarily, to a certain extent, be always going on, and the absence of which betrays only an unhealthy state, which, the longer it is persisted in, will demand the more violent remedies. There is nothing, it will be urged, in the proposed changes which will alter the pervading tone and spirit of these institutions, but only impart fresh vigour to them; not one single stone will be touched of their time-hallowed structures, nor the splendour of their religious services (where such are performed) diminished; in fact, no alteration effected in any one of those points in which they operate with most effect in their great work of education.

And, lastly, it must be conceded that the main ends which

the college founders all had in view, are preferable to the particular and subordinate means by which they sought in different ways to realize them; so that if it can be really demonstrated that 'to the greater exaltation of the Christian faith, the advancement of the Church and the liberal arts and sciences, and 'the behoof and honour of the college,' (words with which the founder of Magdalen prefaces and concludes his statutes,) some of the provisions contained in the body of the work are found to have become, in the course of centuries, rather obstructions than the helps which they originally were, so that the two are no longer compatible, we can have no doubt which we ought to sacrifice to the other.

Between these two sets of arguments, and the conclusions they lead to, we cannot but think something of a balance may be struck, and a mean be drawn. The close system has, perhaps, borne more than its natural and legitimate share of blame from the accumulation of other confining causes upon it; the practice of nomination, the influence of family and rank. In colleges where it has been allowed to act, without this additional confinement, it has not prevented efficiency, or stopped the growth of an intelligent and serviceable body of fellows in them. At the same time, it must be admitted that the close system exists to an extreme and indefensible degree in Oxford: nor can any candid person, we think, face the fact, that out of 542 fellowships only 20 are open, without admitting an imperative call for some change on this head. We do not see, therefore, why the question should not be met by a moderate and constitutional measure of relaxation. The total subversion, at one fell swoop, of a whole system of ancient restrictions, imposed by the wills of founders, and enjoyed for centuries by particular counties and dioceses, which the Commissioners propose, does not appear desirable. When a system is seen obviously carried to an excess, as the close system is in Oxford, a violent reaction is, indeed, not unnatural; and this is the great *fulcrum* on which the Commissioners' proposal rests. They have the advantage of a strong case; and a strong case suggests bold and wholesale remedies. But though such cases suggest such remedies, it does not follow, either in the physical frame, or in the body political or academic, that they should have them. A large measure of relaxation is certainly wanted, but it should be such a one as would not abolish in each college all traces of its original foundation, and sever it wholly from the past. A large interference with the founders' wills is undoubtedly implied even in such a modified measure, but a change which takes a founder's will into account, differs from one which does not, and has a different effect with respect to other prospective founders and benefactors.

No founder can reasonably expect his institution to go on for all time without alteration; if his intentions modify alterations, it is all he has a right to expect. No prospective founder of a college, or a fellowship, or an exhibition, if a reasonable person, would therefore be deterred by modified changes in the institutions around him, from fulfilling his purpose. But sweeping changes introduce a general uncertainty into his mind, as to whether his bequest will be allowed to stand or not. It is the difference between an impression which a violent and that which a natural fact produces. Nor do we think the retention of local restrictions to a certain extent, would, after all, make any substantial difference in the intellectual standard. When the first-rate men have got fellowships, there are only the second-rate men left to get other fellowships. The most open and unrestricted system then obliges you to give fellowships to second-rate men. But counties can furnish second-rate men: it is extraordinary if a large territorial surface, like that of Lincolnshire or Yorkshire, abounding with grammar-schools, cannot send up good second-rate candidates; and as a fact, counties do now send up, in many instances, good candidates. It may be answered that the greater stimulus of an unrestricted system will produce greater talent in the academical body, and increase the class of first-rate men indefinitely: but we rather doubt this result. Certainly, the stimulus of honour has been tried now for forty years in the University, and has not produced such an enlargement of this class; and if the stimulus of honour has not, it may be questioned whether the stimulus of profit will; for the former—we trust, with truth—has been generally held to be the greater stimulus of the two to the generous youthful mind. We see, then, no reason why the close and the open system should not go on successfully together, in such proportions as the Legislature after proper advice may think fit, in the different colleges, without leading to any strong lines of demarcation between one set of fellows and another. Differences of talent there always will be in these bodies: no system can prevent them. The evil of a broad and invidious line need only be guarded against; and that need not, we think, occur, if the retained restrictions are such as offer a tolerably wide field of selection. In Oriel College six close fellowships do not prevent the intellectual eminence of that society; nor have they, we believe, introduced any strong line of intellectual division into the college, keeping the open and close fellows apart, as different sets, or at all interfering with the wholeness, unity, and harmony of the society.

We give our opinion, then, in favour of a liberal, but still modified, measure of relaxation, and so take leave, for the

present, of our subject. To go into details is beyond our purpose. If a principle and an aim are decided on, in a measure of reform, some fair mode of carrying them out will be discovered, when the question is practically entered into. We only beg to express a hope, that when the Legislature does (as it will infallibly do before long) take up the question, it will feel its responsibility, and not its omnipotence only, and settle it with a proper deference to all the claims, old and new, involved in it.

ART. VI.—*Hippolytus and his Age; or, the Doctrine and Practice of the Church of Rome under Commodus and Alexander Severus: and Ancient and Modern Christianity and Divinity compared.* By CHRISTIAN CHARLES JOSIAS BUNSEN, D.C.L. *In Four Volumes.* London: Longman, Brown, Green and Longmans. 1852.

THE work before us is one of the fruits of the Great Exhibition. It was not, indeed, published at the time, but it is plain that it was intended that the letters to Archdeacon Hare and the Apology of Hippolytus should appear at that time. The former were advertised in the 'Times,' early in July, 1851. The topic of the Exhibition is prominent in the opening of the letters; and Hippolytus is supposed, in the fiction of the Apology, to have visited England at that time. The book and its author, the editor and the printers, being of so many various nations, were to have formed a part in that many-coloured gathering. The writer himself states circumstances which show the wonderfully short time in which so large a work, bearing on so many subjects, and on such 'difficult points of complicated research,' was composed. 'The first two volumes, and part of the fourth, were written and printed in the last six months of 1851; the last two in the first six months of 1852.' (Vol. iv. Pref. p. i.)

But more than this: in the early part of June, 1851, Dr. Tregelles informed M. Bunsen of the publication of the *Philosophumena*. In the course of the next week, on the 13th of June, M. Bunsen dates his first letter to Archdeacon Hare; it is 18 pages long. The second needed time for preparation; it is dated June 20, a week after the first, and occupies 104 pages. The third follows in two days; being dated June 23, but is only 16 pages long. In two days more, on June 25, the fourth letter (54 pages) is dated. After another two days, on June 27, the fifth is written; it extends to 128 pages. On the 26th of July, the letters were so far carried through the press that the author was able to submit the printed sheets of the whole to his friend; and it would seem as if the Apology of Hippolytus, occupying 117 pages of the fourth volume, was written within that space of time. This is very wonderful, even if considered only in reference to the physical exertion and manual labour required for its execution—for the mere writing of the letters, besides any previous reading necessary, and the authorities which had to be sought out and referred to—to say nothing

of the wonderful variety and multiplicity of the knowledge which is introduced in connexion with it. It was written in a fortnight, and printed in a month.

But this is not all. Consider when and where these letters were written; not in the calm seclusion of the cloister, or the freshness of green fields and the retirement of the country, but in a house in Carlton Gardens, in the month of June; in the midst of the heat and bustle of a London season, intensified a thousandfold by the Great Exhibition; and that by one whose official duties, we presume, are enough for one man's time, and who then, we should have thought, must have been obliged to devote his whole leisure to the extra duties of courtesies to the foreigners who had resorted to the World's Fair. But M. Bunsen did write these letters in this wonderfully short time, and the volumes he has produced will remain on record as a remarkable fact in literary history; not only, we conceive, as an evidence that a volume of a given size can be written in a given time, and amid a thousand distracting occupations; but also, we must add, as an abiding monument of the egregious folly of attempting to perform such feats.

When we first read the title, and saw that, beside the question of authorship, and the immediate subject of the work, the chief argument of the volumes was the doctrine and practice of the early Church; we entered on the perusal of them with great interest. We undertook to review them with the special object of investigating the one subject of Ante-Nicene Theology. We said, in some surprise, 'And so it seems that, after all, the battles of the Faith must again be fought on the old ground, the doctrine and practice of the primitive Church. M. Bunsen, the great prophet of the Church of the Future, has entered an appeal to the Church of the Fathers;—for doctrines, for liturgies, for the canon of Scripture and the constitution of the Church, he would go back to the testimony of antiquity, and with all due allowance for altered circumstances and modern improvements, would claim the sanction of saints and doctors for the views which he has himself promulgated.' How far he commits himself to this appeal we do not inquire; but he puts forth a picture of the faith and practice of the Ante-Nicene period which professes to be matter of historical fact; and as a question of historical fact we were prepared to go into the subject. There is no need in such cases to mix up matters of personal and party warfare; deep as is our concern in the question, we trust that we could engage in it in a truly historical and critical spirit. We are not afraid of the subject: the divines of the Church of England have ever courted the inquiry, and engaged in it fairly, according to the measure of

knowledge which existed at their time. And those who in these last days have been the means, under God, of lighting up the flame of primitive piety, as well as of recalling us to primitive doctrine, have devoted all their energies, and all their means, to bring home to the knowledge of *all* the genuine records of the Primitive Church. Insinuations and assertions to the contrary, pervade M. Bunsen's work; he says, we are 'bent more than ever on stopping and suppressing, or, at least, discrediting, all inquiry;' yet among the earliest efforts of our revival was the setting forth in English the 'Records of the Church;' and the suggestion made,—as the means of meeting the jealousy which the Laity might feel, that in deferring to the voice of antiquity they were transferring the ultimate appeal from the Bible, which they could all read, to writings accessible only to the learned—was that the principal works of the Fathers should be put forth in English translations; and the endeavours of that School have notoriously been devoted, amid discouragement and want of adequate support, to the publishing *critical* editions of the patristic writings, as well as cheap and accessible reprints of former editions. All that we can desire is that these should be *read*; read entire, not in extracts, and judged of by the principles of true common sense, and not by preconceived theories.

Our intention was, at this time, to have gone fully into the points raised by M. Bunsen, with reference to the doctrines of the early Ante-Nicene Church. The question of the authorship of the treatise, which has given occasion to this publication, we consider to be settled; to be as fairly and as completely settled as any literary question can be. We conceive that it has been proved incontrovertibly, that the so-called *Philosophumena* of Origen, is a work of S. Hippolytus, Bishop of 'Portus Romanus,' 'The Harbour of Rome;' and that a variety of questions respecting the personal history of the writer, his position and influence in the Church, and the authorship of other writings which before was matter of doubt, are now definitely concluded. Those who have written on the subject, both in Germany and England, generally concur in these points. The arguments have been put out vigorously and skilfully by M. Bunsen; and by him, and others who had written on the subject, it has been well nigh exhausted.

But when we came to read the dashing pages of the *Age of Hippolytus*—when we found the bold and broad assertions which it contained—when we failed to recognise the doctrines which we knew to be held by the primitive Fathers, and saw also with how rude a hand the critical pruning-knife was applied to some writings, and new authors and new authority attributed

to others,—the free and uncautious spirit in which we were disposed to read a book written apparently with all the freedom and candour of a genuine lover of truth, and by one who appeared, at first sight, to be familiar with all learning, critically acquainted with the theological language of the Fathers, and at home with their opinions, as if he had lived in their society;—the free and hearty surrender of ourselves to our author's statements—was checked: we began to hesitate; we referred to original works; we looked at the Greek of the *Philosophumena*, and the text of Photius; we recalled the very words of ancient writers; we came across cases of questionable scholarship, and we felt that we could no longer read M. Bunsen's book without the utmost caution. Our next step was to go into an investigation of the correctness of some of his statements; and then, when our suspicions were further excited, into a comparison of his English with the Greek of his citations. The result of our inquiries we shall simply lay before our readers: they shall judge for themselves.

The writer of these words desires to put aside the fictitious tone with which custom invests the writer of a review, and to affirm in the plain and simple language which involves a personal responsibility, that the above statements are strictly true. The feelings with which he commenced reading the *Age of Hippolytus* were those of great interest in the literary questions involved in it; with a kindly disposition towards the writer personally—with entire confidence in his candour and truthfulness—and without the least suspicion of his want of scholarship or of acquaintance with the subjects on which he was writing.

Such probably is the case with very many, with almost all the English readers of these volumes. They remember Bunsen, the friend of Arnold: they remember his testimony—‘I could not express my sense of what Bunsen is without seeming to be exaggerating. . . . He is a man in whom God's graces and gifts are more united than in any other person whom I ever saw. I have seen men as holy, as amiable, as able; but I never knew one who was all these in so extraordinary a degree, and combined with a knowledge of things new and old, sacred and profane, so rich, so accurate, so profound, that I never knew it equalled or approached by any man.’¹ And again, ‘You met Bunsen, and can now sympathise with the all but idolatry with which I regard him.’² And indeed the religious and, to all appearance, the candid spirit which appears in some of the early writings of M. Bunsen, which form part of the second volume of this work, and a certain ardent way of speaking

¹ Arnold's *Life and Correspondence*, ii. 137.

² *Ib.* i. 327.

of the love of truth, and freedom from prejudice, and a spirit of love, and in general a sort of religious tone, which show at least what the writer once was, go far to explain this admiration.

Many readers, of course, receive implicitly the statements of such a man. For the most part they have no critical acquaintance with the subjects on which he is writing; neither have they the leisure, nor the opportunity, nor the learning requisite for testing their correctness. The insinuations and assertions that the opinions of early Christian writers have been misrepresented by theologians, to serve their own purposes, and that M. Bunsen belongs to a country, the scholars of which have brought a new light to bear on ancient records, and that he gives, as he professes to do, the results of the most recent investigations,—all this throws an air of plausibility over his assertions; and the natural consequence is, that the ordinary English reader accepts his representations as correct. ‘The distinguished place which he occupies in all those inquiries which are most interesting in the development of the world’s mind and civilization,’ his having ‘long sat at the feet of the illustrious Niebuhr—the first to sweep away the cobwebs of history, and find out the method of distinguishing the true from the false,—and the subject-matter of the volumes having for more than a quarter of a century formed the cherished occupation of his life and the object of his most serious research and meditations;’¹—these are the thoughts which press on the reader’s mind, and, in consequence, we are not surprised that even educated and intelligent men should, at the first appearance of the work, suppose that ‘M. Bunsen has undertaken his work with great sincerity and good faith, and has encountered the critical difficulties in the restoration of the “Patristic relic,” which was the motive of his book, with the power of a profound scholar and an accomplished linguist.’²

Now we assert, and we are prepared to prove, that the ordinary readers of M. Bunsen’s work are misled on subjects of the last importance, by representations boldly and unhesitatingly made,—made by one who, whilst he professes to possess the utmost critical sagacity and the most familiar acquaintance with patristic literature, and the most devoted love of truth, not only puts forth vague and sceptical speculations on the nature of Revelation and the truths revealed by the Gospel, but draws an unreal picture of the belief of the *Age of Hippolytus*, which he supports by mistranslations, conjectural emendations, groundless assertions, and an exhibition of what looks like theological learning, and is not; and that the pictures which he thus draws of the

¹ See the *Athenæum*, Oct. 16, 1852.

² *Ibid.*

theology of Hippolytus and of his Age are one series of misrepresentations.

It is with deep and sincere sorrow that we publish these statements; but the cause of truth requires it: not the cause of theological truth—of that we speak not—but the cause of that common truth and honesty which should prevail everywhere, and among all men: that cause of truth which justifies and obliges us to expose an imposture when we have discovered it. Measured language of criticism, indeed, M. Bunsen would not ask; he approves and justifies vituperation. His affection for Hippolytus, and, we apprehend, his own view of duty, not only lead him to applaud his author's vehement language against Callistus, but to imitate it: and few writers of any respectability in the present day have abounded more largely in charges of insincerity, dishonesty, and conscious misrepresentation against those who differ from him; few have shown more readiness to discover the supposed faults of others, or more superciliousness in the tone in which they criticise them. We had no wish to follow his example. We had hoped that a better spirit had come over theological controversy: that calmness, considerateness, sympathy with involuntary error, and an endeavour to remove the causes of mutual misunderstanding, had taken the place of that bitterness and persevering cross-purposing, which the world lays to the charge of theological controversialists. That M. Bunsen can indeed treat an individual writer, who is essentially opposed to his views, with candour and courtesy, is evident from his kind notice of some articles on the authorship of the *Philosophumena* in the *Ecclesiastic*. It is possible to hate a class without sacrificing charity towards individuals. And in this spirit we may say once for all, that our observations apply to the author as he appears in the pages of the *Age of Hippolytus*; with pain indeed to see how much theological acrimony can poison an amiable, and distort the vision of a fair-minded man.

With respect, indeed, to much of what we have to criticise, it may be said, it was written in haste. We reply, first, that though much of the work was *written* in haste, it was not *published* in haste; there was ample time for revision, suppression, retraction. Secondly, that it will appear that the defects of M. Bunsen, as a theologian and a critic, are such as are exposed, not caused, by hasty composition.

Our object at present is simply this; to examine M. Bunsen's qualifications for pronouncing a trustworthy opinion, not only on matters of criticism, but on the views and statements of primitive writers, and on the history of theological doctrine. Whether the faults which these volumes exhibit arise from the haste of composition, or precipitancy of judgment, or an over-

earnest desire to impress his views on others, or, we are sorry to add, from a real unfairness of view, and want of theological learning and sound scholarship, we leave others to determine.

The work before us, logically considered, divides itself into two portions,—1. a philosophical system of religion expressed in the form of aphorisms and fragments, called ‘The Philosophical Research,’ and left very much to the evidence of its own inherent probability; 2. an attempt to show that the views expressed in it are conformable to those which were received in the primitive Church (or, in M. Bunsen’s words, ‘to the general consciousness’ of the ancient Church), as evidenced in its *genuine* and *unadulterated* monuments. These are exhibited in a sort of fancy picture of the faith and practice of the ancient Church, professedly derived, (a) from the newly discovered treatise of S. Hippolytus, and other writings recognised as his; (b) from incidental representations of the opinions of other primitive writers; and (c) lastly, from a variety of documents,—creeds, hymns, canons, liturgies, &c.—restored, as the writer professes, to their genuine primitive state. The question of the authorship of the so-called ‘Origenis Philosophumena,’ though it has given occasion to the publication of this work, is altogether subordinate to the general argument of the volumes, as are also a variety of other matters here brought somewhat incongruously together.

Almost the whole force of the argument depends on M. Bunsen’s ‘critical restorations,’ and on the correctness of his judgment as to the authorship and general value of documents; because he freely admits that in their present form the records of the doctrine and practice of the early Christians are incompatible with his views, or with what he designates as ‘the general consciousness’ of the primitive Church.

It becomes, therefore, a matter of some importance to ascertain, how far his judgment and statements on such subjects may be relied on,—what his character is as a fair and candid critic. But, besides the publication before us, it appears that M. Bunsen has a very large quantity of other materials of this kind,—the work of many years past; the very enumeration of which is startling,—but all having the same character as critical restorations, and as attributing anonymous or pseudonymous works to their true authors. For instance, ‘A Restoration of the Succession of the Roman Bishops before the time of Cornelius’ (written in 1847); a subject, hitherto, we are assured, ‘uncritically treated’ and ‘involved in confusion’ by men of great name, but now to be settled ‘by a safer method of inquiry, with the help of new documents’ (vol. i. p. 280). An edition of the ‘Epistle to Diognetus,’ the text arranged ‘with the assist-

ance of two eminent philologers ;' in which 'it is proved' that the first part is 'the lost early letter of Marcion,'—the latter part is the supposed conclusion of the *Philosophumena* (pp. 187, 188). Again, 'An unpublished Restoration of the Eight Books of the Hypotyposes of Clemens, (of which the first book is hidden under a false title,)' in which M. Bunsen believes he has proved that the work 'Extracts from Theodotus, or the Oriental School,' forms an integral part of those esoteric Lectures, which are the deepest and most instructive work of the great Alexandrian teacher' (p. 65). Again, (ready for the press,) 'A Synoptical Text of the Four Gospels,' and 'A Critical Reconstruction of the Chronological order of the Evangelical Accounts ;' to be followed by 'A Life of Christ' (vol. i. pref. p. xv.). Such being the extensive plans of M. Bunsen, it becomes a matter of some interest to ascertain what claim this author has to be listened to in such matters, and how far he is an impartial and a trustworthy critic. Our readers, we repeat, shall judge for themselves.

The first point which we shall take is one which in itself is of no importance whatever. It involves no theological questions, nor anything calculated to awaken prejudice, or excite ill-will. It is a mere question of literary criticism, with respect to a simple matter of fact. But we select it as exhibiting in a small compass characteristics which pervade the whole of M. Bunsen's work, and because it will show the value of his judgment, and the amount of trust which is due to the statements of one who, as it appears, is undertaking to reconstruct on a critical basis almost all the records of Christian antiquity.

The question of fact is this: Is the recently discovered work that treatise of Hippolytus against Heresies which Photius read, and of which he has left a description? M. Bunsen says it is. Jacobi and Duncker, in Germany, and an English writer in the *Ecclesiastic*, say it is not. M. Bunsen considers the correspondence between our book and that which Photius describes to be so exact, that, if we had no other evidence, this alone would be sufficient to demonstrate its authorship. To Jacobi and the writer in the *Ecclesiastic*, the dissimilarity appeared so great, that notwithstanding strong evidence that the work was written by Hippolytus, they were led to seek out some other author for it. Their difficulty has been removed by supposing that the book which Photius read was an earlier and shorter sketch on the same subject which Hippolytus mentions in his preface. Duncker suggested this view, and Jacobi says¹ it has

¹ Egregie confirmat nostram de origine libri sententiam, quod Duncker V. D. idem de re sentit, sublata quadam difficultate, quæ nos impediverat; recte enim suspicatur, hippolytianum, quem Photius novit, libellum a nostro auctore in operis proœmio indicari et antea conscriptum esse.—*Basilidis Sententias* &c. Illustravit J. L. Jacobi. Berolini, 1852.

removed his only difficulty. The English writer appears to have embraced the same solution independently.¹ That M. Bunsen's supposition, hastily formed and hastily put in print, is a mistake, there can be no doubt. But this is not our point. We wish to illustrate from this one case the candour and fairness of mind, as well as the correctness of critical judgment with which he treats such subjects, and particularly the amount of reliance which is to be placed on his most positive statements. Haste of composition is an excuse for some faults: let any amount of weight which seems due be given to it.²

After going through several arguments for Hippolytus being the author of the Treatise published as Origen's, M. Bunsen says:—

'But perhaps there may be some argument in store which we have not yet touched upon. Ay, there is; and it is a piece of evidence which, even if it stood alone, would put an end to all controversy on the authorship of our work. For we have an authentic and specific description of the contents of the work of Hippolytus "Against all Heresies;" and this description tallies so exactly with the book before us, that it cannot have been given of any other. I mean the account which the patriarch Photius has noted down of the contents of this work in a journal of his reading, known as "Photii Bibliotheca."—Vol. i. p. 16.

Now it appears from the sequel, that so far from Photius' description 'tallying exactly' with the book before us, it does not, on M. Bunsen's own virtual confession, tally with it on any one point, (except that both are against heresies,) and we think that if he had not been hurried away by excitement, he could not but have been conscious of the extreme difficulty he had in producing even the semblance of agreement. A comparison of what follows in the next few pages, with the statement we have just transcribed, will show what reliance can be placed on M. Bunsen's assertion, even about matters of fact. The second letter begins with the Description, from Photius:—

'A little book of Hippolytus was read. Hippolytus was a disciple of Irenæus. It is a treatise on thirty-two heresies, beginning with the DOSITHEANS, and going down to NOETUS and the NOETIANS. He says that Irenæus entered into a refutation of them in his lectures, and that he, Hippolytus, made a synopsis of these, and thus composed this book. The style of the book is clear, and rather stately, but not turgid; though it does not come up to Attic speech. He says some things which are not quite correct; for instance, that the Epistle to the Hebrews is not by the Apostle Paul. He is reported to have addressed the congregation, in imitation of Origen, with whom he lived on familiar terms, and of whose learned works he was a great admirer.—P. 21.

¹ The Ecclesiastic and Theologian, Dec. 1852. We refer to these articles because they have been noticed by M. Bunsen.

² The present writer had not seen the last number of the 'Theological Critic' in which several of these points are noticed, until this article was in type. He is unwilling to suppress any part of what he had written, as it would lessen the cumulative force of the argument, which it seems a duty to exhibit in full.

After some supercilious observations on a 'blunder' of Jerome and Photius, (which is noticed by Gieseler, *Ecc. Hist.* § 66, though this is not mentioned by Bunsen,) M. Bunsen proceeds to show the first point of agreement, which, unfortunately, is a point of difference. He says, with great *naïveté* :—

'I was struck at first by the expression, "a little book" (*βιβλίδιον*), for a work in ten books, of which seven and a half fill about 300 octavo pages. But it is to be considered, that *he takes no notice of the "Philosophumena;"* and the rest, the account of the heresies, occupies less than 250 pages. Photius uses the same word (*βιβλίδιον*) soon afterwards (c. 126), for a manuscript containing, *at least*, the two Epistles of the Roman Clemens to the Corinthians, and Polycarp's Epistle to the Philippians, which together would form a volume fully equal to this second section of Hippolytus' work. Hence, as probably *he had only this second part before him*, that expression has nothing surprising in it.'—P. 23.

Now we treat this simply as a question of evidence and criticism, and we observe there is not the slightest ground for supposing that Photius had part of this work only. His taking no notice of the *Philosophumena* (a name used by Hippolytus for the matter contained in the first four books), or of the philosophical subjects in the accounts of the heresies, is a decisive argument against his having seen our work; but that work is one so connected, both in the introduction and the conclusion, that it could not be divided into two; indeed, the supposition is without a shadow of foundation: and this very supposition, on which the whole argument is grounded, is itself given up (without a word of explanation) in the very next sentence. As soon as it is necessary to find a place for certain statements which Photius says Hippolytus made, and which are not in our book, Photius is supposed to have all that we have, and something else which we have lost:—another introduction, the lost books, heresies omitted, full statements of things of which we have only abstracts, will come across us continually. M. Bunsen appears to be utterly unconscious that his theories mutually destroy each other. He wrote in such haste that he had not time to correct previous theories when he found it necessary to invent new ones. But we could have excused this; though we do not think the publication of such careless productions creditable. It is not so easy to excuse false statements as to matters of fact.

M. Bunsen says that the two Epistles of Clement, and the Epistle of Polycarp, which (the 'at least' is inserted without any ground) were contained in what Photius calls a 'little book,' 'would form a volume fully equal to' the last six books (pp. 92—329) of the work in question. This fact, on the *truth* of which all depends, might easily have been ascertained; his printer would have told him; and as the whole stress of his explanation of the difficulty, that ours is a large work and Photius's was a little one, turns upon this matter of fact, it

should not have been published until it had been ascertained. But what are we to say when it appears that the fact stated is *not by any means true*? We have had the calculation made by an experienced printer, as a matter of business, in the type and same sized page as the *Philosophumena*. Without notes, the text of the last six books of Hippolytus's work would run to 200 pages; that of the two Epistles of Clement, and Polycarp's Epistle, to a little more than 50 pages, 56 at the very utmost; *i. e.* what M. Bunsen says would form a volume fully equal to ours, would not much exceed one-fourth of it. We should not have dwelt on this, had it not appeared to be M. Bunsen's practice to make statements which are decisive of the point at issue; which bear on their face no obvious improbability, and which not one reader in a thousand would think of investigating—*but which, if investigated, prove to be untrue.*

To pass to the next point: after speaking of Hippolytus' works, Photius says: 'He says some things which are not quite 'correct: for instance, that the Epistle to the Hebrews is not 'by the Apostle Paul.' Photius also states that Hippolytus says that his work was a synopsis of Irenæus. Now, in point of fact, neither of these statements is made in the book before us. Of this M. Bunsen was fully aware, and it is amusing to see the variety of the conjectures which he invents to get over the difficulty. But he does *not honestly say* that there is a difficulty; nor does he seem to be at all aware, that the conjectures by which he would account for it are mere groundless suppositions, and inconsistent with each other. His words are:—

'It must be confessed, indeed, that our manuscript has no passage *quoting* the Epistle to the Hebrews;' (Photius did not say anything of *quoting* the Epistle, but that the author said the Epistle to the Hebrews was not by S. Paul;) 'but the *quotation may have occurred* in the introduction, where the author, most probably, spoke of the relation of his work to that of Irenæus. Such a general introduction seems to be wanting. The "*Philosophumena*," in our manuscripts, begin rather abruptly with an introduction, which may have been a special one for that first section of the work.'—P. 23.

So then it seems that, after all, Photius *had* the whole work before him, which could no longer anyhow be a 'little book;' still less could it answer to this description, if it had also a general introduction which is now lost. But the notion that any such general introduction seems to be wanting is a mere theory framed for the occasion: and that our present introduction may have been a special one for the first four books, is absolutely contrary to fact: for it is almost wholly concerned with the subject of the heresies, and the profundity of their wickedness; only the author concludes by saying he will first set forth the opinions of the Greek philosophers, then compare each heresy with the philosophy which it respectively imitated, and thus

expose the heresiarchs. This then is the first supposition; that the statement occurred in an introduction which we have lost.

The second (our extracts are continuous):—

‘But the passage alluded to *may also have occurred* in the lost second, or third, or at the beginning of the fourth book.’ . . . ‘It is clear that the second and third must have been exclusively or principally devoted to an exposition of the mystical systems of antiquity. Here our author had ample opportunities for *quoting* the Hebrews, as a corrective of mystic writers respecting sacrifices, rites, and mysteries.’—P. 24.

It is sufficient to observe that this is a mere gratuitous assumption: and it is contrary to probability, for, as has been observed, the author does not introduce Christian subjects at all into his accounts of heathen philosophy: he simply states the philosophers’ views.

Now for conjecture the third:—

‘That passage *may also have occurred* at the end, where our manuscript is defective.’—P. 24.

Now it does not appear that the manuscript is defective, (we say this under correction,) or that the conclusion is incomplete (as M. Bunsen marks it, p. 185). However, M. Bunsen thinks it is; and what is more, he also thinks that he has found the part which has been lost from the end, the latter part of the well-known Epistle to Diognetus, of which the author is altogether unknown: (a conjecture which, from the entire difference of style, to our judgment, destroys all his pretensions to be a restorer of lost authors:) but, most unfortunately, this does not contain the words required. Indeed, the conclusion, even if there be any part lost, being simply hortatory, as M. Bunsen himself admits, could scarcely by any chance have contained anything about the authorship of an Epistle.

In despair M. Bunsen strikes a last desperate blow, and retreats with a show of fight:—

‘But who can say that this censure may not refer to some other work of Hippolytus, and apply to the author, not to our book? What follows immediately certainly does. At all events, I have no doubt about the fact, that Hippolytus expressed himself in that way respecting the Epistle to the Hebrews, and therefore incorrectly in the eyes of the patriarch. He could no more have ascribed it to the Apostle Paul, than did any one of his contemporaries in the Western Church, or even any Alexandrian writer openly, before Dionysius, about the year 250. The Romans knew better than anybody, from their first regular Bishop, Clemens, that it was not S. Paul’s.’—Pp. 24, 25.

The last sentences are obviously nothing to the purpose. M. Bunsen has to account for the absence of certain words from the newly-discovered book; he turns away from the point at issue, glad to escape from the subject with an apparently unvanquished spirit. As for the argument that the statement of Photius, that Hippolytus said the Epistle to the Hebrews was

not written by S. Paul, may after all refer to some other work of Hippolytus; it might as well have been said at first—but it is obviously a last and a most desperate resource. As an evidence that Photius did not mean that this statement was in the book, but that Hippolytus said so somewhere else, M. Bunsen alleges, that Photius goes on to say that Hippolytus is reported to have preached like Origen, and that this could not have been in the book. For that is what is involved in M. Bunsen's statement, 'What follows immediately certainly does,' viz. 'apply to the author,' *i. e.* to Hippolytus in general, 'not to our book.' A most unfortunate argument surely: for the one is a fact in Hippolytus' history, the other an observation which he had made; the latter must almost necessarily have been in the book that Photius was speaking of; else why mention it without explanation? the former is distinctly severed from it by the words, 'He is reported.' Thus much for the first points.

It would have been much more candid, much more becoming the character of a critic, to have admitted that these are difficulties in the way of supposing that the work we have was Photius's, but difficulties which might be outweighed by positive evidence on the other side. But M. Bunsen has no difficulties: whether it be in the opposite statements of historians, in the interpretation of difficult texts, in investigating the most profound subjects on which the human mind can be exercised, all is plain and easy to him. He appears utterly unconscious of the existence of any facts inconsistent with the theories he has taken up. For when one would have thought that a moment's pause in the full speed of composition would have allowed him to be conscious of the series of difficulties he was encountering, and the extraordinary conjectures by which he was leaping over them, he says, with the utmost appearance of simplicity,—

'The rest of the account given by Photius is positive and accurate enough to prove that we have the work he speaks of before us. Ere I enter into a detailed proof of this assertion, I will briefly state the three leading points of my argument.'

These are—

- (a.) That the book begins with the Dositheans and ends with the Noetians.
- (β.) That it contains thirty-two heresies.
- (γ.) That it is, and (observe) that the author himself says it is, a synopsis of Irenæus.

Now the fact is, that *in not one of these points does the book before us agree with the description of Photius.* If M. Bunsen had reflected for a moment he must have been aware of this; and have been conscious that he was only deceiving Archdeacon Hare when he told him so positively that it did exactly agree.

(a.) The book begins with the Naassenes, Peratæ, and Sithiani, not with the Dositheans. And the theory by which M. Bunsen persuaded himself that Photius meant these sects, when he said the Dositheans, is one of the most absurd conceptions which a hard-run advocate ever had recourse to, or even attempted to palm off upon the simplicity and trustfulness of his readers. The Dositheans could have no connexion in any one's mind with these Gnostics; least of all in that of so matter-of-fact a person as Photius. The Dositheans were a definite recognised sect among the Samaritans, before the time of our Saviour: the Pseudo-Tertullian says, a sceptical sect, like the Sadducees among the Jews: the Naassenes were a body of Gnostics after the time of Christ: any one who is willing to compare M. Bunsen's description of them (pp. 25, 26,) when his object is to make them 'a primitive sect of Judaizing Christians,' with that in which he analyses Hippolytus' account of them (pp. 35, 36,) will see the misrepresentations to which he is reduced in order to make it appear that Photius meant the Naassenes, &c. but called them Dositheans. The Dositheans form the first class of heretics named in the outline of heresies appended to Tertullian's 'De Præscriptionibus,' in which the Ophites (the Naassenes under another name) and the other sects we have mentioned, occur in a distinct place in that enumeration. M. Bunsen, indeed, was aware that the Dositheans were the first mentioned in Tertullian, and he speaks of this fact and of the work itself, as if he were familiar with them. We will quote his words, and then the passage from the Pseudo-Tertullian, because, we apprehend, it will sufficiently appear that he knew nothing of the mention of them by Tertullian beyond the fact; and that he writes as if he were perfectly familiar with a book of which he knew almost nothing. This is, as will presently appear, M. Bunsen's usual practice, and it gives an appearance of marvellous learning to his work in the eyes of the ordinary reader, but surely the hurry of composition is no sufficient account of what looks much more like ridiculous vanity. M. Bunsen says:—

'Photius *evidently* found these Judaic sects, as we do in our book, at the head of his treatise, but *he expresses himself inaccurately*. Instead of calling them Ophites, as he might have done, or Naassenes, which is the same thing, or Justinians, he designates them as Dositheans, a sect not mentioned in our book at all. But *the name represents those earliest Judaizing schools*; so the author of the Appendix to Tertullian's book, "De Præscriptionibus Hæreticorum," begins a list of heretics with Dositheus. *This is not correct*; for Dositheus was not a Christian at all, but lived before Christ, and founded a mystic sect among the Samaritans,' p. 121. 'The Dositheans, who were a Judaic sect, and not heretics, but who, as representatives of that oldest class of heretics, are also alluded to in the beginning of the treatise on

heresies appended to Tertullian's book, "De Præscriptionibus Hæreticorum."—P. 26.

Now the Pseudo-Tertullian begins with these words.¹ 'I will touch upon a few points respecting these heretics, passing over many; for I say nothing of the heretics of Judaism. *Dositheus*, the Samaritan, for instance, who was the first who presumed to reject the prophets, as though they had not spoken under the influence of the Holy Spirit. I say nothing of the *Sadducees*, who springing up from the root of this error, in addition to this heresy, presumed to deny also the resurrection of the flesh. I pass by the *Pharisees*, &c. With these also I pass by the *Herodians*, who said that Herod was Christ.

'I turn to those who, after the Gospel was promulgated, fully became heretics. Of these the first of all was Simon 'Magus,' &c.

It is sufficient to say that the only thing which is 'not correct' connected with this subject is M. Bunsen's own observation. The Dositheans are not 'alluded to as representatives of that oldest class of heresies,' nor does 'the name,' as beginning the list in Tertullian, 'represent those earliest Judaizing sects.' The most charitable supposition is that M. Bunsen had not seen the work of the Pseudo-Tertullian, and that his ready wit devised that explanation of the fact of its beginning with the Dositheans which best suited his own theory.

But though our treatise does not begin with the Dositheans, of course it ends with the Noetians. So M. Bunsen says in these express terms,—'The last of the heresies in the work read by Photius was that of the Noetians, and so in fact it is in our book.' This is simply untrue; our book ends with the Essenes, Pharisees, and Sadducees, or (if we suppose that the Jewish αἱρέσεις are not to be taken into account) with the *Elkesaites*. M. Bunsen, indeed, admits that the *Elkesaites* are the last; he could not do otherwise; he needed them to make up thirty-two. So in counting the heresies he puts them thus:—31, the Noetians; 32, the *Elkesaites*.

But Photius, when he enumerated thirty-two, 'beginning with the Dositheans and going down to Noetus and the Noetians,' must have meant that the Dositheans were the first in

¹ Quorum hæreticorum, ut plura præteream, pauca perstringam. Taceo enim Judaismi hæreticos; Dositheum, inquam, Samaritanum, qui primus ausus est prophetas, quasi non in Spiritu Sancto locutos, repudiare. Taceo Sadducæos, qui ex hujus erroris radice surgentes, ausi sunt ad hanc hæresim etiam resurrectionem carnis negare. Præmitto Phariseos, qui additamenta quedam legi adstruendo a Judæis divisi sunt: unde etiam hoc accipere ipsum quod habent nomen, digni fuerunt; cum his etiam Herodianos, qui Christum Herodem esse dixerunt.

Ad eos me converto, qui ex evangelio hæretici esse voluerunt; ex quibus est primus omnium Simon Magus, &c.—Tertull. De Præscriptionibus Hæreticorum, capp. xlv. xlv.

the list, and the Noetians the thirty-second. M. Bunsen, however, in his haste, overlooks this inconsistency, and affirms that the Noetians are the last. He says at p. 121, that the Elkesaites are 'a short appendix to the school of the Noetians;' and that Alcibiades, its promulgator at Rome, 'was intimately connected with the Noetian School.' Now this is absolutely and ridiculously untrue. The Elkesaite leader was indeed attracted to Rome by the success of Callistus, a success owing, as Hippolytus asserts, to the laxity of his moral system; and it was in that point of laxity, *and that alone*, that the two heresies agreed. In all other respects the Elkesaites were peculiar—they set up a new religion. So peculiar indeed was the sect—having, like the Mormonites, a book with a professedly new Revelation—and so little is known about them otherwise, that Photius most certainly would not have omitted to mention so remarkable an account of them. These wretched attempts to reconcile the two accounts ought to be utterly fatal to the claim of this author to be a trustworthy critic. We do not know whether the monstrous disregard to truth of theory, or truth of fact, is most glaring.

(B.) On the second point, the number of heresies, M. Bunsen says:—

'Secondly; our work, like that read by Photius, contains the enumeration and refutation of just *thirty-two* heresies, a number corresponding neither with the enumeration of Irenæus, nor with that given by Epiphanius, or by any other known writer.'

And in saying this, he makes two statements, both of which are alike untrue. There are not *just thirty-two* heresies in this book—and there *is* another history of heresies in which there are.

i. The appendix to Tertullian, of which we have spoken, contains exactly thirty-two heresies, 'beginning with the Dositheans and going down to the Noetians.'

We enumerate them in a note.¹

¹ Chap. 45. (Jewish αἰρέσεις.) 1. The Dositheans. 2. The Sadducees. 3. The Pharisees. 4. The Herodians. (Christian αἰρέσεις.) 5. Simon Magus. 6. Menander. 7. Saturninus. 8. Basilides. 9. Nicolaus. 10. The Ophites. 11. The Cainites. 12. The Sethiani. 13. Carpocrates. 14. Cerinthus. 15. Ebion. 16. Valentinus. 17. Ptolemæus. 18. Secundus (the distinctness of these heresies was known to Hippolytus). 19. Heracleon. 20. Marcus. 21. Colarbasus. 22. Cerdon. 23. Marcion. 24. Lucanus. 25. Apelles. 26. Tatian. 27. The Phrygians κατὰ Προκλῆν. 28. The Phrygians κατὰ Ἐσχήν. 29. Blastus and the Quartodecimans. 30. Theodotus Byzantinus. 31. Theodotus the Melchizedekite. 32. Praxeas the Noetian.

We add the concluding words of the treatise:—'Sed post hos omnes etiam Praxeas quidam hæresin introduxit, quam Victorinus corroborare curavit; hic Deum Patrem omnipotentem Jesum Christum esse dicit, hunc crucifixum passumque contendit, mortuum, præterea seipsum sibi sedere ad dexteram suam, cum profanâ et sacrilegâ temeritate proponit.' It is most probable that they who

ii. This work does not contain just thirty-two heresies, on M. Bunsen's own admission; for he has to suppose that one is lost out of our book, besides inventing another to make up his number of thirty-two. (i.) He has to say that the Colarbasians *ought to have been* in the book before us, though they are not; thereby making No. 11. (ii.) He has to translate the Greek, ἄλλος δέ τις ἐπιφανὴς διδάσκαλος αὐτῶν ('another distinguished teacher of theirs') thus: 'Eriphanes, another teacher of theirs,' thereby making heresy No. 8.

We are weary of this work, and so we fear are our readers. It is much more pleasant to read, and we are sure it is more pleasant to write free flowing pages, when there is no difficulty to obstruct our course. But M. Bunsen's claims to be a critic are put forward almost ostentatiously. He has undertaken to remove by *historical criticism*, the testimony to the supposed faith of the primitive church; it is of some importance that it should be shown what his real pretensions to be a sound critic are. For even allowing his suppositions to be correct, we submit that he ought to have stated the process by which he made out his numbers—as that, by counting them on particular principles, and by supposing one omitted, and that a proper name is hidden under an adjective, we might bring the number to about thirty-two—there are many other difficulties which we will not go into, as to who should be counted, and who not;—instead of this, he asserts with bold positiveness that there are 'just thirty-two.'

As for the Colarbasians, there is no more need that their heresy should have a separate description than many other modifications of the Valentinians.

As for Eriphanes, we must give M. Bunsen's own words:—

'viii. EPIPHANES.—Nine lines, copied in the same manner from what follows in Irenæus, after the words on Secundus. Both in Irenæus, and in our manuscript, the well-known proper name of this Gnostic has been taken for an adjective; a misunderstanding which, *I am surprised*, is not corrected

put out this tract in its present form, substituted Praxeas, the Noetian against whom Tertullian wrote, for Noetus. For, from these points and the contents of the work, we have very little doubt that this appendix, which is universally allowed not to be Tertullian's, is an abridged translation of that very Treatise of Hippolytus, which Photius read. Had M. Bunsen not despised our old divines so much, he might have found this suggestion in Waterland, as Dr. Allix's opinion. See Waterland's Works, vol. v. p. 227., ed. 1823, referring to Allix's *Fathers Vindicated* touching the Trinity, p. 99. We have not had time or opportunity to seek out Allix's book.

We also conceive that this 'little book' which Photius read was, (as Duncker, Jacobi and the *Ecclesiastic* suppose,) the earlier work on heresies mentioned in the Introduction to the *Philosophumena*. As for M. Bunsen's supposition that the tenth book of our work is that earlier Treatise, it is just worthy to be associated with the rest of the theories he has put forth on this subject.

by our learned editor, any *more than by Grabe and his predecessors, who did not observe* that the old Latin interpreter expressed it so well that he translated it: (Compare Tertull. Contra Valentinianos, c. 37)'—

IRENÆUS (1—5. § 2).

HIPPOLYTUS (198. 98—199. 8).

ἄλλος . . . (Latin text: Alius vero quidam qui et *clarus* est magister ipsorum.)'—*Letter 2*, p. 67.

Ἄλλος δέ τις Ἐπιφανῆς διδάσκαλος αὐτῶν οὕτως λέγει.

Now, whatever becomes of Irenæus and his translator, we conceive that Hippolytus, at all events, did not suppose the word *ἐπιφανῆς*, in Irenæus, to be a proper name: we submit the question to Greek scholars; for our own part, we think it much more probable that Hippolytus should have understood Irenæus in the same way as his two almost contemporaries, the old translator and Tertullian, specially as he was, we shall see, a reader of Tertullian, than that he should have expressed himself in such Greek as this, had he intended *ἐπιφανῆς* to be a proper name. But why should M. Bunsen, this 'truth-loving' man, in his eagerness to correct the errors of others, run into a wanton assertion of that which he was in nowise called on to refer to, and which is just contrary to the truth? We say nothing of the 'learned editor'; M. Bunsen is surprised he did not correct it. As for poor 'Grabe and his predecessors,' who do not deserve the epithet 'learned,' who belonged to the dark ages of theological learning and criticism,—whose theology, the theology we presume of Pearson, and Bull, and Waterland, is described by our author as 'the confused and idealess formalism of that age of despair and hypocrisy, the second part of the 17th and the first part of the 18th century,' of course, no one could be surprised that they *did not observe* that the old Latin interpreter had mistaken a proper name for an adjective. Unfortunately for M. Bunsen, it so happens that *they did observe it*. We wish we had our author's inventive genius, and we would have tried our powers of conjecture on this question, how he came to say that Grabe and his predecessors had not observed it. We are at a loss to know what edition of Irenæus he used,—into what obscurity of Cimmerian darkness he could have thrown himself, to be ignorant of that which appears in every recognised edition of Irenæus. Was it simply eagerness to appear able to correct the errors of others? Alas! how true it is that in such cases we overlook our own. The truth is, there is no edition of Irenæus, that we know—we have not looked at the yet unfinished edition of Stieren, which ought, of course, to surpass the old ones,—but of the editions in common use, there is not one which does not observe it. It is in Feu-arden-

¹ We add Tertullian's words: 'Accipe alia ingenia Circuriana insignioris apud eos magistri, qui et pontificali sua auctoritate in hunc modum censuit.'

tius', in Grabe's, in Massuet's (the Benedictine) edition, in each of which two last the notes of the previous editors are reprinted at length. As Grabe is the person mentioned by name, we will cite his note; the more so, because M. Bunsen will there meet with an old friend of his, a Bishop of Chester of former days, on whom he fell foul in his letters on Ignatius, we mean Bishop Pearson—who seems to have been 'brought up' to show M. Bunsen that he knew something of these matters, for he had written in the margin of his Irenæus this conjectural restoration of the words, "Ἄλλος δέ τις ὁ καὶ Ἐπιφανῆς αὐτῶν διδάσκαλος.

The note of Grabe on the words, 'Alius vero quidam qui et clarus,' &c. is:—

'Hunc *Epiphanem* fuisse, ejusque dogmata hic ab Irenæo recensita esse, ei qui textum nostrum bene consideraverit, observare in promptu est. Placet autem hanc observationem proponere verbis doctissimi *Dni. Dodwelli*, Dissert. IV. in Irenæum, § 25, ita scribentis: *Secundo* proximum *Epiphanem* noster quoque recenset *Irenæus*, si tamen Græca ejus rectè constituantur. Sic habet locus in veteri Interprete: *Alius vero quidam, qui et clarus est magister ipsorum*, &c. Hujus ἀποσπασμάτων Græca omisit *Epiphanus*. Sic autem reddit in Codicis sui margine *Cl. Pearsonius*: ἄλλος δέ τις ὁ καὶ Ἐπιφανῆς διδάσκαλος αὐτῶν. Accuratissimè simul, et, ut puto, verissimè. Ad hominis nomen illudit *Irenæus* in voce ἐπιφανῆς, quam tamen illusionem quum non intelligeret Interpres, nomen hominis ita obscuravit, ut nullum possit ex hoc loco colligi. Quid verò hoc in eo miremur, cum eodem etiam lapsus fuerit errore *Tertullianus* lib. contra *Valentinianos* c. 37, quo loco nostri (*Irenæi*) hunc ipsum etiam locum excerptit? Sic enim reddidit: insignioris apud eos *Magistri*. Corrupto nimirum similiter proprio hominis nomine in *Appellativum*. Rectè verò nostri (*Irenæi*) sententiam accepisse *Cestriensem* non modò inde colligo, quod soleant veteres primariis *Valentinianæ* sectæ *Hæresiarchis* *Epiphanem* accensere, proximumque *Secundo*, ut noster fecit *Irenæus*, numerare, ut ex *Epiphania* discimus; sed et quod quæ claro illi, quem volunt, *Magistro* tribuit *Irenæus*, in *Epiphanem* aptissimè conveniant. Hæc *Clariss: Dodwellus*.'

We feel much greater diffidence in expressing a doubt on the correctness of the conjecture of Bishop Pearson, and the rest of these learned men who supposed Irenæus to have meant the heretic Epiphanes. But we do doubt, and for these reasons: Epiphanes was the son of Carpocrates. He died at the age of seventeen, but had previously written works putting forth what were called the Carpocratian views. Clement of Alexandria—and be it observed, Carpocrates and Epiphanes were of Alexandria—is most express on this point (*Strom.* iii. 2). He joins them together in his account; and so marked was the influence of Epiphanes, that he even says, it was from Epiphanes that the sect of the Carpocratians sprung: καθηγῆσατο δὲ τῆς μοναδικῆς γνώσεως· ἀφ' οὗ καὶ ἡ τῶν Καρποκρατιδῶν αἵρεσις. Now Carpocrates is placed by all writers among a class of heretics quite distinct from the Valentinians; and we submit that Epiphanes, if mentioned at all by Irenæus, Tertullian, or Hippolytus, would

have been mentioned in connexion with Carpocrates, as, in fact, he is by Theodoret. That this youth Epiphanes should be designated simply 'a teacher of the Valentinians,' seems in itself utterly improbable; still more that we should find in Tertullian, '*pontificali suâ auctoritate.*' The supposition that he was mentioned here by Irenæus is really grounded on Epiphanius's so understanding Irenæus, for, in his great compilation on heresies, he connects the account given by Irenæus of this teacher of the Valentinians with Clement of Alexandria's account of Epiphanes, the son of Carpocrates; mistaking, we conceive, the adjective for a proper name; for we do not think, with all deference to Dodwell and others, that the doctrines assigned to Epiphanes by Clement of Alexandria do at all identify him with the teacher of the Valentinians in Irenæus. Having, however, the warning of M. Bunsen's mistakes before us, we will not imitate his decisiveness, but only submit an opinion that at all events Hippolytus, as well as Tertullian and the contemporary translator of Irenæus, meant 'a distinguished teacher of the Valentinians,' and that No. 8 in M. Bunsen's thirty-two heresies ought to be left out.

(γ.) But we now come to the third point. Hippolytus said, in the treatise read by Photius, that he made his treatise as a synopsis from Irenæus. Of course we ought to find this statement in our book, or, if we did not, we might conjecture, as M. Bunsen did at first, that it had occurred in some one of the lost books; or, we might have said, in some of those parts of which (as he thinks) we have abstracts only; or many other conjectures might be made, *if we were quite sure that the book we have was that which Photius read.* But M. Bunsen despises these methods,—which, at any rate were safe, as the conjectures might have lasted, without the possibility of their being refuted, till the lost portions of the work came to light: having gained boldness in his progress, *vires eundo*, he gives us here the very highest specimen of his art.

Photius states that Hippolytus said that Irenæus entered into a refutation of the heresies in his lectures, and that he, Hippolytus, made a synopsis of these, and thus composed his book. M. Bunsen shows very fully, which is indeed obvious enough, that Hippolytus derived a large part of his work from Irenæus. He endeavours, indeed, with the true zeal of an author for his hero, to show that he is not a mere copyist, but more philosophical, as he *possibly* was, and an independent testimony to some facts which he repeats, which we should be willing to believe. But this is not the question; the important point is, that Hippolytus, in the book which Photius read, *said himself that his work was a synopsis from Irenæus.*

Now, it so happened that the writer of these pages had examined the new volume, for reasons of his own, with special attention to this point. He had observed that Hippolytus had derived much of his matter from Irenæus, and that he said that Irenæus treated particular subjects more fully than himself; but he did not find in any of those places that Hippolytus admitted his own obligations to Irenæus; and he noticed it the rather, because he thought the silence of Hippolytus on this point when he was speaking of the treatment of the same subject by Irenæus, and when he had actually been transcribing whole pages from him, had an appearance of disingenuousness. He was not a little surprised to find M. Bunsen assert that in the book before us, Hippolytus does say that his work is taken from Irenæus. He recalled what he had read, and could not remember it. He proceeded with M. Bunsen's book, and read as follows :—

'That (making an abridged extract from Irenæus) is also what Photius says Hippolytus declared he meant to do. *But I can now show that our author says so himself.* For having gone through the extracts from Irenæus, and added his own researches and his criticism upon Irenæus, he concludes the sixth book by saying, that the Valentinians had always gone on glorying in their inventions, the more absurd they were; and that having "made out everything from the Scriptures in accordance with the numbers set forth (the Cabalistic numbers), they charged Moses and the prophets with those inventions, pretending that these speak allegorically about the measures of the Eons. Now, I have not thought fit to give an account of such senseless and incoherent things, the blessed presbyter, Irenæus, having refuted their doctrines already with great skill and pains. *I have taken from him the account of their inventions, having shown before that they have stolen them from the Pythagorean philosophy, and the subtleness of the astrologers, and then fathered them upon Christ.*"¹ Then follows the concluding sentence given above, in which he says he had explained the systems of Marcus and Colarbasus.

'*Could we ever have expected to find such an explicit proof* that the book now discovered is the same which Photius read, and which bore the title of Hippolytus' work, mentioned by Eusebius and Jerome?'—Pp. 72, 73.

¹ 'This passage is very corrupt in our text.'

'*Could we ever have expected to find such an explicit proof?*' An expression indeed worthy of that other German impostor, Hermann Dousterswivel, when he found the gold which he had himself hidden. Will our readers believe the fact, that this statement is, to use his own phrase, 'foisted' into the text by M. Bunsen himself? These very words, 'I have taken from him the account of their inventions,' which constitute the whole of the 'explicit proof that the book now discovered is the same which Photius read,' *are not in the original.* His note indeed says, 'This passage is very corrupt in our text.' True; but that does not justify his telling Archdeacon Hare that it contains a statement which it does not contain. We give the

Greek words: ἃ παρατιθέναι μοι οὐκ ἔδοξεν ὄντα φλυνὰ καὶ ἀσύστατα, ἥδη τοῦ μακαρίου πρεσβυτέρου Εἰρηναίου δεινῶς καὶ πεπονημένως τὰ δόγματα αὐτῶν διελέγξαντος, παρ' οὗ καὶ αὐτῶν ἐφευρήματα ἐπιδεικνύντες αὐτοὺς, Πυθαγορείου φιλοσοφίας καὶ ἀστρολόγων περιεργίας, ταῦτα σφετερισμένους ἐγκαλεῖν Χριστῶ, ὡς ταῦτα παραδεδωκέναι.' (Philosoph. p. 222.) Our readers will at once see that these words do not say that which M. Bunsen's argument required that they should say. So, when he could not otherwise obtain the testimony that he wanted, *he put it in himself*; a mean attempt at falsifying documentary evidence, for which an English attorney would be struck off the rolls.

What is thought of such practice amongst diplomatists we have not the means of knowing; but we know what ordinary mortals would think of a man who showed in evidence a professed copy of a letter in which he had himself inserted an all-important statement that was not in the autograph, and thought it sufficient to say generally, 'the passage is very obscure in the original.'

It is plain from the words, '*I . . . having shown before*,' by which he translates the word ἐπιδεικνύντες, that M. Bunsen thought Hippolytus was speaking in the dignified plural which we reviewers are wont to use; whereas, both in the sentence which comes before, and that which follows, he speaks in the singular. Indeed such a statement as M. Bunsen inserts would not be at all in place here; and lastly, which makes it a clumsy trick, it would not be the statement which Photius asserts the book he read contained, for that was to the effect that the work, as a whole, was a synopsis from Irenæus; this, that the account of the Valentinians was taken from him.

How are we then then to trust M. Bunsen on any statement of fact whatever? Suppose M. Bunsen had conjectured an emendation of the text which afforded the statement which he gives in English, it would have been most natural that he should have told Archdeacon Hare how cleverly he had discovered what Hippolytus really wrote. M. Bunsen's usual practice in such cases is to print the Greek in full, when he has to correct a reading or to suggest a conjectural emendation. Why did he not do so here? Why suppress both the printed text and the acute conjecture, by which he had made the corrupt and unintelligible words speak the very language he desired? We ask, why did he suppress the evidence on which this most essential statement rests? One answer only can be given, *Because it did not exist*; because the Greek text, as we have it, could not, by any artifice, be tortured into such a statement.

¹ Mr. Miller modestly suggests that we should read:—καὶ οὐκ αὐτῶν ἐφευρήματα ἐπιδεικνύντος, ἀλλ' ἐκ Πυθαγ., &c. 'Irenæus, having ably and laboriously exposed their doctrines, and shown that they are not their own, but derived,' &c.

We are sorry we cannot describe this conduct in terms acceptable to the writer. He considers 'the facetious manner' of Archdeacon Churton¹ to be 'well suited to a retreat from a lost cause,'² and we fear we should fail in that kind of eloquence which he professes to delight in; and not being 'canonized bishops, or sainted writers,' we must be pardoned if we do not exhibit that amount of 'moral indignation' which he considers to be 'the ingredients of such a character.'³

But we willingly accept, if any of our readers think we have spoken too strongly, the apology, which M. Bunsen has provided for us: 'As to my own taste,' he says, 'since nothing human is perfect, I prefer good strong indignation infinitely to an impatient indifference, and to mawkish hypocrisy. *The man who will not attack a falsehood will not defend truth; and he who dares not call a knave a knave* (whether he be his bishop or brother-bishop, or not) will not treat tyranny as tyranny, when the cause of Christian truth is attacked by force.'⁴

If our readers are not quite tired of the subject, they will find the last instance of correspondence at pp. 106—111. S. Peter of Alexandria cited a passage from Hippolytus Against all Heresies. That passage is not in this book, but M. Bunsen, quite certain that it ought to have been there, most ludicrously endeavours to show how necessary it is to the sense of our present text, and in doing so, unless there is some misprint, utterly misapprehends the argument of Hippolytus, which is, that they who hold they are bound to keep the Mosaic Law in one point, are bound to keep it in all. Besides, as this supposition involves omissions, he again introduces the hypothesis that some of the books, as we have them, are abstracts only of what Hippolytus wrote. Did M. Bunsen remember that Photius's was a *little* book? Truly, inventive critics, as well as other inventive geniuses, ought to have long memories.

Yet at the last he sums up with calm satisfaction, and, on the retrospect of his work, he sets the seal of deliberate approval to his arguments in these words:—'Looking back to the three points I undertook to prove, I believe I have established them pretty satisfactorily. For I have shown that the work contains just *thirty-two heresies*. I have also shown that this

¹ We cannot use the name of Archdeacon Churton without recommending his valuable edition of Bishop Pearson's 'Vindiciæ Ignatianæ.' The work itself is a model of argument in this kind, and the study of such a treatise would give our students powers of thought qualifying them to engage effectually in such critical investigations as now meet us. Of Archdeacon Churton's additions to the work, in a Preface and notes carrying on Bishop Pearson's argument, expressed in Latin, the elegance and force of which carries us back to the best masters of such composition, we must speak most highly.

² See the Age of Hippolytus, vol. iv. Pref. p. xxi.

³ Vol. i. p. 324.

⁴ Ibid.

'account begins with the earliest Judaizing Gnostics, &c. Our work therefore begins, in fact, as Photius says; so too does 'it end,' &c.

M. Bunsen forms a justly high estimate of the duties of a critic. 'Historical criticism,' he says, 'is neither a party question nor the business of *dilettanti*: it requires the *earnestness* and the *conscientiousness* of a judge,' (vol. i. p. 323,) there 'nothing is at stake but that of which Pilate doubted the existence,' (vol. iv. pref. p. v. ;) and speaking of his opponents, he implies that they 'seek truth, not as a judge in order to find it, but as an advocate, in order to betray it.' To us M. Bunsen does not appear to have sought the truth at all; but first to have wanted to produce more evidence of this newly discovered book being Hippolytus's than really exists, although there is enough; then to have persuaded himself that it is that which Photius read,—then to have laboured to evince this to others, and to have put forth his grounds as an advocate intent only on gaining his point, and by assumed confidence in the strength of his evidence, by most positive assertions when he was most uncertain, by skilful assumptions, and by still more discreditable artifices, to gain a verdict from an unsuspecting jury. He even condescends to such a profession as this:—'Respecting the execution of this attempt, I must of course claim the highest degree of indulgence as to the form; but *no just and intelligent critic will have to blame me for the want of a conscientious wish to be historically true and perfectly impartial.*' (Vol. i. pref. p. xiv.)'

We request our readers to suspend their further judgment till they have seen something of M. Bunsen's critical method in the most grave questions of theology.

Of all that we have considered, indeed, it might be said,—It was written in haste. We say, as we said before, It was written in haste, but it was not published in haste. It was written in haste, indeed, and advertised almost as soon as it was written: every one else was to stand aside, for Chevalier Bunsen was taking up the game. It was written in haste;—but why written in haste? Why written at all, if the author could not give to it the time that it required? Who obliged him to write it? What occasion was there, when he had 'but little time to spare' from the fifth and last book of his "*Ægypt*" for this sudden

! M. Bunsen had ample opportunity for withdrawing or correcting his statements in the twelve months which elapsed between the printing and publication of the first volume. He refers repeatedly to the persons who agree with him, he even mentions, vol. iv. pref. p. xxviii. the publication of Jacobi's little work on Basilides, but does not mention that his own opinion on the identity of our book with that which Photius describes was not embraced by others, nor does he seem to have at all reconsidered what he had written here, though he found they differed from him on these points.

'digression to the second Christian century?'¹ He would have been safer in his *Ægypt*. Few could pretend to test the correctness of his theories when hid amongst hieroglyphics. Why put himself into such a position as to have to speak of 'many difficult points of so complicated a research which he is obliged to carry on in the midst of a London season, and that of the 'Exhibition?'² Was the work intended for the Exhibition? Was it M. Bunsen's contribution as a specimen of the learning, and honesty, and orthodoxy of German critics to the 'Works of Industry of all Nations?' If so, he ought to have taken more time, more pains, more thought in its composition. If an exhibitor had put in machines which would not work, furniture which fell to pieces when you used it, or glittering things, of which the material was not what it professed to be—which were labelled as gold, and were really of baser metal—would it be an excuse to say he had made them in haste? Haste is an excuse for doing things badly, if (which rarely happens) we are obliged to do them in too short a time. But their being done in haste is no excuse for their being done ill, if we are not called on to do them at all; still less is it an excuse for unfairness, or for mistakes, when *all the mistakes are in his own favour*.

We now pass to another class of subjects, in which, we regret to say, the same characteristics appear, but deepened in guilt by the importance of the subject matter on which the mistakes, rash judgments, and misrepresentations are made. We mean, the theological statements of Hippolytus. In treating these, we shall be glad to be spared the expression of those feelings of indignation which naturally arise when one sees the reckless spirit with which such topics are handled. We have on this account dwelt the more on the comparatively trifling question we have been hitherto discussing; because in it there was exhibited on a small scale what we have here on a large one. The general theory which M. Bunsen has framed as to the faith of Hippolytus, is as unfounded as his view of the identity of our book and that of Photius; the means by which he endeavours to get rid of the facts that stand in his way, are almost as indefensible.

But before we engage with these points, it is necessary to refer to the views on certain great Christian doctrines which M. Bunsen has put out, and which he conceives to be in harmony with 'the general consciousness of the ancient Church;' confining ourselves to the doctrines relating to the Unity in Trinity.

¹ Vol. i. p. 18.

² Vol. i. p. 327.

We give them in M. Bunsen's own words, as expressed in the Aphorisms¹ in the beginning of the second volume:—

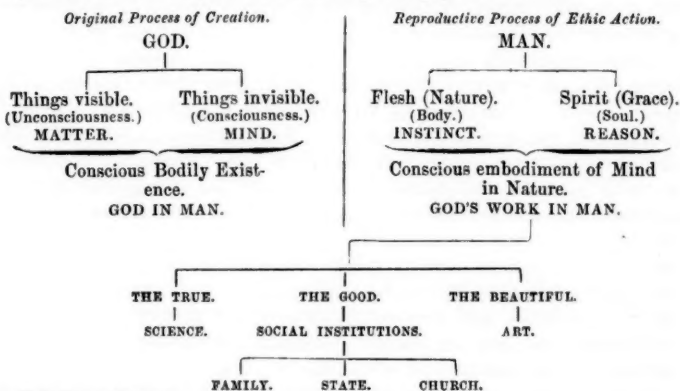
¹ It is impossible to convey any adequate impression of the views apparently contained in these aphorisms, except by extracts; though these seem to us to be shrouded in Heraclitean darkness. If anything, they appear to be a system of naturalism, adopting, like the Gnostic systems of old, a Christian terminology. But it is almost necessary to put before our readers some of his views respecting Man and Revelation, in order to show the position which M. Bunsen occupies. We hope we do not misrepresent him in any way, and would willingly believe that his opinions are not so bad as they look:

Of Man he says:—‘In every human soul there are, consequently, two factors; the infinite, as far as the soul is a part of the self-consciousness of God before all finite existence; and the finite, as far as man has the immediate or nearest cause of his existence in another created being, or (in the first instance) in the agency of an elementary power in earth. . . .

‘The highest degree of power of the infinite in man is, that the soul has in itself the consciousness, and, by an unselfish, self-sacrificing life, manifests the working of that divine element which is in him. This is, as far as it is real, an incarnation of holiness, and consequently a second birth, or a new creation. . . .

‘The antithesis of Self and God, in the highly-gifted mind, corresponds with what theologically is called, the difference between Nature and Grace, “natural light” and “divine light.”

‘The end of all ethic effort is, theologically speaking, that Nature becomes Grace; and the aim of creation is, that Grace ends in becoming incarnate. For this is the process of the realization of the infinite in the finite, and man has to reproduce the very thought and act of creation, he being the finite mirror of the Infinite in the Universe. The following table shows the harmony of the Semitic expressions with the Japhetic terms of the philosophy of the mind:



— Vol. ii. pp. 36—38.

Of Revelation:—‘Revelation has necessarily two factors which are unitedly working in producing it. The one is the infinite factor, or the direct manifestation of eternal truth to the mind, by the power which that mind has of perceiving it: for human perception is the correlative of divine manifestation. . . .

‘This infinite factor is, of course, not historical: it is inherent in every individual soul, only with an immense difference in the degree.’—Vol. ii. p. 62.

Of Miracles:—‘Miracle, in its highest sense, is therefore essentially and undoubtedly an operation of the divine mind upon the human mind. By that action the human mind becomes inspired with a new life, which cannot be explained by

'God, the infinite Cause of the Universe, must both exist and be an intelligent Being. Or, more philosophically expressed, the idea of God in the human mind implies at the same time, as indivisibly united, the idea of

any precedent of the selfish (natural) life, but is its absolute contrary. This miracle requires no proof: the existence and action of religious life is its proof, as the world is the proof of creation.'

'As to the preternatural action of the infinite mind upon the body and upon nature in general, two opinions divide the Christian world, which both are conscientious. The one supposes any such action of the infinite to exist only by the instrumentality of the finite mind, and in strict conformity with the laws of nature, which, as God's own laws, it considers immutable. It therefore considers miracles, which appear to contradict these laws, as misunderstandings of the interpreter, who mistakes a symbolical, or poetical, or popular expression, for a scientific or historical. This is now acknowledged to be the case with the celebrated miracle of Joshua and the sun. If the miracle regards the human body, that view ascribes it either to the same misinterpretation, or to the influence of a powerful will upon the physical organization of another individual, or, lastly, to the operation of the mind upon its own body. The other sees the divine miracle in the alleged fact, that these laws have been set aside for a providential purpose. As the subject is primarily a historical one, the safest rule seems to be, to judge every single case, in the first instance, by the general rule of evidence. An unprejudiced philosophy of history, at all events, will not allow this question to be placed on the same level with the ever-living, self-proving miracle of history, which nobody in his senses denies, but rather say about the other miracles, with Hippolytus: "Such miracles are for the unbeliever, whom often they fail to convert, and must be considered as useless when unbelief ceases."—Vol. ii. pp. 62, 63, 64.

Of Prophecy:—'They were also inspired, says our author (*i. e.* S. Hippolytus), when they spoke of the persons and events of their own time, "exhorting men not to abandon themselves to negligence and levity (*μη βαθυμεῖν*)."' It does not require much of a philosophical mind to perceive, that to recognise the men and events of one's time as what they really are, and what they signify, and thus to put the seal of history upon them (what the mystics call the *signatura*), is as much an evidence of the knowledge of the future as any prediction, and as much a proof of an inspired insight into the past as any prophetic interpretation of the figures of men and events of bygone times. It follows, from this our author's view, that even those predictions were not an evidence, much less the highest, of inspired knowledge, so far as they simply foretold external facts.—Vol. i. p. 166.

Of Revelation, again:—'The second factor of revelation is the finite or external. This means of divine manifestation is, in the first place, a universal one, the Universe, or Nature. But, in a more special sense, it is a historical manifestation of divine truth through the life and teaching of higher minds among men. These men of God are eminent individuals, who communicate something of eternal truth to their brethren; and, as far as they themselves are true, they have in them the conviction, that what they say and teach of things divine is an objective truth. They therefore firmly believe that it is independent of their individual personal opinion and impression, and will last, and not perish as their personal existence upon earth must.'

'The difference between Christ and the other men of God is analogous to that between the *manifestation* of a part, and of the totality and substance, of the divine mind. It is Semitically expressed by the distinction between Moses and Christ. According to Jewish theologians, not only a distinction was made between the decalogue and the ceremonial law, but the whole law was given through the instrumentality of angels, not through God directly. S. Paul adopts this view, and opposes to the Mosaic dispensation the manifestation of God through Jesus the Christ. Or, in other words, the Christian religion is a manifestation of the very centre of God's substance, which is Love: it is the revelation of the Father by the Son, who is the incarnation of the eternal word, and without Sin."—Vol. ii. pp. 64, 65.

From these principles it is that M. Bunsen deduces, we presume, the view which he expresses in speaking of the first verse of S. John, as expounded by Catholics

the primitively existing Being and that of the primitive Intelligence or absolute Reason.

'The object of the Thought of an infinite Being can only be Thought itself as Existence.

'We are thus obliged to distinguish in God the Consciousness or Thought of Himself (the ideality) from his Being (or reality). Thus we come first to an original twofoldness of the infinite Being. His thinking Himself, by an act of eternal Will, is identical with his establishing in His being, by this spontaneous act, the distinction of Subject and Object: the Subject' (that which thinks) 'being Reason, the Object' (that which is the object of thought) 'Existence as such, as distinct from Thought.

'But that divine act implies, at the same time, the Consciousness of the ever-continuing Unity of Subject and Object, of Existence and Reason.

'Thus there is implied in the One Thought of God a threefoldness, centering in a divine Unity.'—Pp. 32, 33.

'The realization of God in the finite supposes the infinite process of Creation by the antithesis of Will and Reason in the divine Being; or, to speak theologically, the eternal generation of the Word, which is the Son in the highest, that is to say, in the infinite or ideal sense.'—P. 35.

'The primitive antithesis in God (God and Word), applied to the Creation in time and space, or considered with respect to the demiurgic process, which terminates in man, may be denoted as that of Father and of Son. The Son may in this respect also be called the eternal Thought of God.'—P. 36.

'The ancient scriptural and apostolic doctrine is that of Father, Son, and Spirit, substantially united. This doctrine is placed, as far as the first element is concerned, by the side of the strictest doctrine of the Unity of God. So far as the second, the Son, is considered, it always refers to Jesus, the Christ, and to believing man. Lastly, the Spirit is always treated with reference to the "community" (Ecclesia), or to believing mankind. But, at the same time, He who is the Son is called the incarnation of the Eternal Word. In like manner the Paraclete (John xiv. 26) is considered as the Spirit coming from the Father.

'The following three points may therefore here be assumed as proved; because every one may easily ascertain this simple fact, by comparing the

(vol. i. p. 169),—'What is not intelligible is either untrue or useless.' And again:—'Revelation reveals truth, but does not make truth,—that truth must be true in itself. Now, if true in itself, in its substance, not through any outward authority, revealed truth must be intelligible to reason. For reason is of the Divine substance, the image and reflection of the eternal, Divine reason, and therefore able to discover (as it is acknowledged to have done) the laws of the movements of the celestial bodies in space, and (as it must be allowed to have done to a certain degree) the laws of the human mind moving in time.' . . .

'Now if Christianity be not true . . . what authority in the world can make it true? But if it be true (as of course they ought to assume), it is true, because true in itself, and wants no authority whatever to make it true.' . . .

As if there was no difference between making and evincing truth, nor any depth even in the Divine nature which man's intellect could not fathom! Is this the field of thought of which M. Bunsen says (vol. ii. p. 23),—'Maurice may be called the Semitic exponent of the deepest elements of English thought and life in this field . . . and Carlyle, . . . as manifesting in his writings such a philosophy, may be designated its Anglo-Germanic prophet.' It seems to us to be a denial of any authoritative external revelation. The inaccuracy of thought discovered in these absurd passages is surprising; as is that which is displayed in the discovery that 'Justification by faith is the Semitic expression of the principle of moral responsibility.'—Vol. ii. p. 104.

genuine scriptural passages, which form the apostolic tradition on this subject :

'First,—The Unity of God, as the eternal *Father*, is the fundamental doctrine of Christianity.

'Secondly,—The *Son* is Jesus the Christ, as the adequate manifestation, in the highest sense : every true believer is Son, in a state of diminishing imperfection, being brother to Christ in the Spirit. But Jesus alone is the incarnation of the Word (*Logos*). He therefore is called by S. John, "the only-begotten," *Unigenitus*.

'Thirdly,—The *Spirit* has not had, and is not to have, any finite individual embodiment : it appears in finite reality only as the totality or universality of the believers, as the congregation of believing mankind, called Church. But this Spirit is, substantially, not the spirit of any human individual, or of any body of men, but the Spirit of God himself.'—*Ibid.* pp. 45, 46.

M. Bunsen speaks contemptuously of our received theological language. It has, at least, one advantage,—it has a recognised determinate meaning; we know to what view a given proposition commits the party who maintains it. M. Bunsen's statements have not a determinate meaning; we think they have no meaning at all. If we deny them in a given sense, it is quite open to him to say we have mistaken him. But they seem not only absurd but simply contradictory to the faith. They deny the doctrine of the Trinity, and the proper divinity of our Lord, by denying the personality of the Word or Son. In the Apology, indeed, he makes Hippolytus say : 'I called the Word as much a Person as the Father. The Son is conscious Reason united with Will, and the Father is conscious Will united with Reason. For a person not affected by Finiteness can mean nothing but a conscious being uniting both will and reason ;'—what this means we do not know ; if Hippolytus had spoken in that way, he might naturally have been called a Ditheist,—but certainly in his usual mode of speaking, M. Bunsen denies the Personality of the Word before the Incarnation : he speaks of 'The *Logos*, . . . being embodied in the person of 'Jesus of Nazareth, the true and real man ;' (vol. i. p. 167 ;) of 'becoming like God, as Jesus had been,' (*Ibid.* p. 250 ;) of 'the metaphysical distinctions between the *Logos*, as the ideal self-consciousness of God,' and His embodiment 'in Jesus of Nazareth as a historical person and true man ;' and of 'that hybrid question, mixed up of historical evidence and speculative reasoning, whether and how far the idea of a hypostatic Son was to be placed between that *Logos* and the historical 'Jesus.'—*Ibid.* p. 303 ; see also vol. i. pp. 41, 42, and 56. It would seem that M. Bunsen does not hold the proper personality of the Word, or Son, prior to the Incarnation, nor of the Holy Spirit at all.

It appears to us that this attempt to develop a doctrinal system from the 'idea of God in the human mind,' is really

carried out upon principles analogous to those which in other times led to Anthropomorphism. It is surely a gratuitous assumption that the Divine Mind, and, if we may so say, modes of thought, are so like our own, that we can argue to such an extent from the one to the other. We believe that Almighty God, in condescension to our infirmities, has revealed truths respecting Himself in terms derived from our experience, in order to convey some ideas to our minds, as grown people teach children. The propositions in which such truths are stated, are intelligible up to a certain point; beyond which they necessarily run on into what is unintelligible; they are to be regarded as accommodations; and of such statements one modifies by seeming to contradict another. This is the case in the expressions of truth by 'the higher minds' 'among men, who communicate something of eternal truth to 'their brethren.' Now what they who fell into Anthropomorphism did in respect of physical analogies, M. Bunsen seems to have done in respect of metaphysical analogies. Holy Scripture, we conceive, does itself guard against these misunderstandings by the varied character of the expressions which it uses. In the case before us, that of the Eternal Logos, persons might have rested in the view that It is what our thought or self-consciousness is, and has not any more substantive or personal subsistence; whereas the beginning of S. John's Gospel guards against this by the statement, Θεὸς ἦν ὁ λόγος, and ὁ λόγος σὰρξ ἐγένετο, and by other expressions indicating distinct personality, as well as by that truth which takes most deep root in the Christian soul, that the Son of God voluntarily undertook the work of our redemption, 'being rich He became poor.' The interpretation of the first words of S. John by M. Bunsen, does indeed seem of itself to prove that his view is not consistent with them. He says, 'The first words ["In the beginning was the Word, &c."] speak of the immanent eternal existence of the Word as God (as God's thought of Himself,) that is, if we understand it aright, 'the thought &c. is the thought &c.' (vol. iv. p. 128.) He himself seems inclined to fall back on the Fathers. He says, (vol. i. p. 179,) speaking of the saving clause, *quatenus concordant*, 'I must limit my assent to the clear concordance of formularies, not only with Scripture, (which is the 'great Protestant principle,) but also with the earlier Fathers 'and decrees.' And the views which M. Bunsen entertains, and which he affirms are those of the ancient Church, do seem to have some colour from the expressions of those Fathers, owing to the circumstance that the received philosophy of their day was Platonism. In philosophizing, therefore, on Christian doctrine, they naturally spoke in the received terminology; and they

seized on the illustrations suggested by the λόγος, (together with the σοφία of the Books of Proverbs and Wisdom,) to assist in bringing home Christian truth to the understanding of their contemporaries. But they, also, most strictly guarded themselves against misapprehension by many other expressions. Thus Irenæus, in combating the Valentinians—and their language reminds us of M. Bunsen's—repeatedly maintains¹ that we are not to argue from the facts of our own minds to those of the divine; and Tertullian (Adv. Prax. cap. 5) after working out that beautiful analogy of a second self being produced in thought, says, '*Quanto hoc plenius agitur in Deo?*' indicating the true personality of Him who is as this second self to the Father, even His Logos.

Indeed, that the fathers did thus guard the doctrine is unwillingly and unwittingly proved by M. Bunsen himself. For, taking up only one side, so to say, of their view, as their complete view, he is compelled to alter or to reject as spurious passages which distinctly guard against such misapprehension, although, as we shall see, he does it in opposition to all principles of true criticism.

But M. Bunsen says, immediately after the words with which our extract from his Aphorisms concluded, 'This is the statement of the Bible; and to accept and believe this statement, as the revelation of divine truth, this, and this alone, forms the doctrinal test of the Apostolical age.' And if we do not misunderstand him, he thinks no other was the doctrinal test of the second and third centuries. That this is not the case is manifest from this fact. In vol. i. p. 237, in classifying the heretics M. Bunsen, in defiance of facts, puts under the class of 'Sects orthodox, both as to God and Christ, but with some error in other points,' the Noetians and Callistians, whom S. Hippolytus regarded as the worst of heretics, and who were anathematized by the Churches.² And in the Apology (vol. iv. p. 110), he makes Hippolytus confess that 'the Noetians . . . stood with us on evangelic ground,' and blame himself for having treated them 'as heretics, . . . who were indeed not separated from us by any truly essential point.' Can any misrepresentation be more patent?

If it be alleged that Noetianism was connived at by one Bishop of Rome, and taught by his successor, let it be remembered that it was Noetianism cloaked under the profession of orthodoxy, misrepresenting those who maintained the true faith, and pretending to oppose the errors which it imputed to them. Let it be remembered that Callistus, before he became bishop, professed to the orthodox that he really agreed with them,

¹ See Book ii. c. 13, § 8; c. 28, § 4.

² Cont. Noet. c. 1.

and persuaded them of his sincerity; that when bishop, in order to purge himself of the suspicion of heresy, he anathematized Sabellius, and so far modified his former views as to be regarded by Sabellius himself as having departed from them. That Sabellianism or Noetianism was a heresy to be anathematized was agreed on, whenever it appeared; whether this or that person was a Sabellian, considering the subtlety with which their views were concealed, is another question.

Our present object, however, is chiefly to show how little M. Bunsen is qualified to determine what the views of the primitive Christians were, and incidentally only to exhibit what they really believed.

M. Bunsen maintains that his own view is sanctioned by the theological statements of S. Hippolytus, and under this persuasion he expresses the high sense he has of their importance and authority:—

‘The conclusion of the work,’ he says, ‘contains the solemn confession of the learned and pious author himself, who represents the doctrine of the Catholic Church, exactly one hundred years before the Council of Nice, in the very age of transition from the apostolic consciousness to the ecclesiastical system.’—Vol. i. Pref. pp. v. vi.

Again:—

‘Through his master Irenæus, the apostle of the Gauls, and disciple of Polycarp of Ephesus, who had caught the words of the Apostle of Love from St. John’s own lips, Hippolytus received the tradition and doctrine of the Apostolic age from an unsuspected source.’—Vol. i. Pref. p. iv.

It so happens that other decided testimony to the orthodoxy of S. Hippolytus is given by two high authorities. Photius, who, as M. Bunsen well knows, was very acute in discerning any variation from strict orthodoxy of statement, and very severe in censuring it, testifies to it unconsciously (*Bibliotheca*, c. xlviii.) in saying that the author of the ‘*Little Labyrinth*’ ‘treated of the Divinity of Christ our true God, very closely (to the doctrine of the Church;’ for so we presume *ὡς ἔγγιστα* should be translated,) and ‘described without fault His mysterious generation from the Father:’ (see ‘*Age of Hippolytus*,’ vol. i. p. 152.) And Dr. Routh selected the treatise against Noetus, for insertion into his *Opuscula*, as a choice testimony to the doctrine of the Church on the subject of the Unity of God and the Person of Christ. This may assure us, if we meet with expressions which are now unusual, that in the opinion of somewhat competent judges, Hippolytus, whatever may be made of his isolated statements, is indeed truly Catholic.

But we are not so much concerned now with the general question of his orthodoxy as with M. Bunsen’s mode of dealing with his statements.

The first passage we shall take is the opening of what M.

Bunsen calls the second part of Hippolytus's Confession of Faith. The original and his translation are as follows:—

The doctrine of the Logos.

Οὗτος οὖν μόνος καὶ κατὰ πάντων Θεὸς
Λόγον πρῶτον ἐννοθεῖς ἀπογεννᾷ οὐ
λόγον ὡς φωνήν, ἀλλ' ἐνδιάθετον τοῦ
πάντος λογισμὸν. Τοῦτον μόνον ἐξ ὄντων
ἐγέννα· τὸ γὰρ ὄν, αὐτὸς ὁ πατὴρ ἦν, ἐξ οὗ
τὸ γεννηθῆναι αἴτιον τοῖς γινομένοις.—
[Philosoph. pp. 334, 335.]

'Now this sole one and *universal* God, first by His cogitation begets the Word (Logos), not the word in the sense of speech, but as the *indwelling* reason of the universe. Him alone of all beings He begat: for that which was, was the Father Himself; the being born of whom was the cause of all beings.'—P. 154.

We have marked in italics the words to which we wish to draw attention.

The expression to which we especially refer as indicating M. Bunsen's ignorance of the common theological language of the ancient Church, is that of ἐξ ὄντων ἐγέννα; but, by the way, we will observe some other points, taking them in the order in which they present themselves. The words κατὰ πάντων, here translated 'universal,' are a few pages afterwards (p. 184) translated 'of all:' this we shall have occasion to notice again. We would suggest that the words πρῶτον ἐννοθεῖς mean rather, 'Having first (or previously) conceived,' as opposed to the word ἀπογεννᾷ, which follows, and in which the ἀπὸ implies the putting forth of the Word, which had previously existed from eternity with the Father, into visibly distinct existence; the *Manifestation* in distinctness of Him who eternally was in being in a real personality, veiled in the depths of the Divine consciousness.

The meaning of the next words is clearly mistaken: ἐνδιάθετον τοῦ πάντος λογισμὸν, translated 'the indwelling reason of the universe,' refers to the view indicated a few lines below, and happily expressed in the extract which M. Bunsen himself gives from Meier, p. 297, 'the universe locked up, as it were, in Him in its ideal existence;' for λογισμὸς is not reason, nor can it be equivalent to λόγος: it is the exercise of reason, and that considered as a substantive thing, referring properly not to speculative thought, but to that which issues in action or production; i. e. a calculation or planning, devising, scheme. Now in the Divine Λόγος was imaged forth that world which He was to create, before it came into being,—the plan or scheme of the universe, whilst it was yet ἐνδιάθετος, remaining, that is, as a conception in the Divine mind, and not yet put forth; as Hippolytus says, in the next sentence, 'The Word was not unacquainted with the Thought of the Father' . . . and again,

¹ Οὐκ ἀπειρος τῆς τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐννοίας· . . . ἔχει ἐν ἑαυτῷ τὰς ἐν τῷ [νῷ] πατρικῷ ἐννοηθείσας ιδέας, ὅθεν κελεύοντος Πατρὸς γίνεσθαι κόσμον τὸ κατὰ ἐν Λόγῳ ἀπετελεῖτο ἀρέσκων Θεῷ.—Ibid.

'He has in Himself the ideas conceived in the Father's (mind) (*ἐν τῷ [νῷ] πατρικῷ*). Whence, on the Father's commanding the world to come into being, the Word accomplished it in detail, 'therein pleasing God.' The same view is expressed by other Fathers, as by Tatian, as understood by Bishop Bull (Def. Fid. Nic. ii. 6, § 3), interpreting Tatian's words, §§ 4, 5; we quote the very literal translation recently published: 'The Word, the beginning of the world, who is also the idea or exemplar, or, in other words, the Art Divine whereby the Father, when He willed, formed the universe.' And the like is said by Athenagoras of the *Λόγος* going forth as the idea and operating cause of creation—*ἰδέα καὶ ἐνέργεια*, Apol. § 10.¹

We notice by the way the carelessness of translating *γινόμενοι* 'beings.' The word is almost a technical expression in the early Christian writers for created beings, as opposed to God; as, of course, the commonest schoolboy-accuracy would require us to

¹ This subject will be made more clear by the following extract from Dr Burton's Bampton Lectures, p. 212:—

'In order to explain myself, I must make some remarks upon the use of the term *Logos* in the philosophy of Plato. Whoever has studied the works of that speculative writer, must be aware that the Mind or Reason of the Deity held a very conspicuous place in his theological system. The Mind of the Deity was the seat of those *Ideas*, those eternal but unsubstantial prototypes of all things, from which the material creation received its qualities and forms. Hence we find the work of creation attributed sometimes to God, sometimes to His Mind or Reason, sometimes to the *Ideas*. But we must carefully remember that Plato never spoke of the Reason of God as a distinctly existing Person; it was only a mode or relation in which the operations of the Deity might be contemplated. . . . He speaks of God being the Father of a being who is God, the Son of God, and even the only-begotten: but it is quite plain that he is here speaking of the intellectual world, the first substantial effect of that creative faculty, which the *Ideas* in the mind of the Deity possessed. This intellectual world had no material existence; it was still seated in the Mind of the Deity, and hence it was often identified with the Reason of God.'

Dr. Burton points out, that the doctrine of S. John, on the contrary, is, that the *Logos* was personally distinct from the Father; and, after regretting that the Fathers should have had recourse to these analogies, (which we think too narrow a view,) he says,—'When it is argued from this analogy that the Fathers believed Christ to be an unsubstantial energy, a mere mode or quality of God, *nothing can be more unfair, or show a greater ignorance of the writings of the Fathers.*' It is plain, from this argument, that by 'Christ' Dr. Burton intended the *Logos*, or Son of God, before His incarnation. M. Bunsen seems to consider Christianity to be distinguished from Platonism in this, that the *Logos*, being un-personal, was embodied in a human person, 'the historical Christ,' Jesus of Nazareth (vol. i. p. 56); the Christians themselves believed the distinction to lie in this, that the *Logos* was personally distinct from the Father before the Incarnation, which they expressed by the words, *Λόγος ἐνυπόστατος*,—a substantial or personal *Logos*. It is plain that, if at any point of time the *Logos* had begun to be personal, that point of time was the beginning of His existence. To assert that this took place, even before all time, was Arianism, and involved the assertion that He is not truly God. To assert that it took place only by union with a human person, is a modification of Humanitarianism. On this principle it is, we suppose, that Meier says of Hippolytus, that he is 'advancing towards the personality of the three subjects which the others (Beryllus and Sabellius) knowingly deny; in assuming the eternal personality of the Son for the future, he is forced to acknowledge it in the past;' cited by Bunsen, p. 298. We refer to Meier's statement only as an admission.

translate it as 'what is made,' or 'brought into being,' as opposed to 'being' simply, as in the words cited below about Hermogenes. Presently afterwards M. Bunsen is guilty of the like carelessness: he translates *πρωτότοκος τούτου γενομένος* by 'being His first-begotten.' It means, 'having become His first-begotten'; that is, having, by condescension, become manifested as distinct from the Father. It is only by attention to small points such as these that we can avoid an entire misapprehension of a writer's meaning.

To return, however, to the words, *ἐξ ὧτων ἐγέννα*. We need scarcely do more than draw attention to the expression. It is the opposite of *ἐξ οὐκ ὧτων*, a phrase which is of the utmost importance in the dogmatic history of the Antenicene period, and forms one of the criteria of Arianism. The statement of S. Hippolytus is that 'the Word alone was produced by the Father out of what was in being, for that which was in being 'was the Father;' that is, whereas all created beings were called into existence out of nothing, the Son was not produced out of nothing, but out of the Substance of the Father, and therefore was properly 'begotten, not made:' for he who is brought into being by one out of his own substance, is begotten of him. The words which occur earlier in the book, in the account of Hermogenes, (viii. 17, p. 273,) illustrate what we have said. His view was that matter was eternal; 'for it was impossible 'for God to make what was created, except out of what was in 'being,'—*ἀδυνάτως γὰρ ἔχειν τὸν Θεὸν μὴ οὐκ ἐξ ὧτων τὰ γινόμενα ποιεῖν*. (It will be observed, of course, that the word *γεννᾶν* is used both generally for *producing*, and strictly for *begetting*, in this passage, as elsewhere.) The importance of this doctrinal statement of S. Hippolytus is manifest. It clearly severs him from Arianising teachers, as is manifest to any one who knows even the least of that controversy; according to that item in the condemnation of Arianism, at the end of the Nicene Creed, in which they are condemned who say the Son was 'out of nothing,' *ἐξ οὐκ ὧτων*. The orthodox, with Hippolytus, have ever held that He was *ἐξ ὧτων*, that is, as the Father alone was in being, *ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς*, or *ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ Πατρὸς*. The immediate context shows that this was Hippolytus' meaning; as he goes on to say,—'For that which was in being was the Father Himself;' *τούτου μόνου ἐξ ὧτων ἐγέννα* τὸ γὰρ ὧν, αὐτὸς ὁ Πατὴρ ἦν. And the contrast in this respect between the Son and all created beings occurs repeatedly in what follows; *e.g.* in the same page, 'For the first substances of these,'—*i.e.* created things, whether angels or material objects,—'having been formed out of what was not,' *καὶ γὰρ αἱ τούτων πρῶται οὐσὶαι ἐξ οὐκ ὧτων γενομέναι*. And again, in a passage which

exactly illustrates our meaning; (p. 336,) *τούτου ὁ λόγος μόνος ἐξ αὐτοῦ διὰ καὶ Θεός, οὐσία ὑπάρχων Θεοῦ· ὁ δὲ κόσμος ἐξ οὐδένος· διὰ οὐ Θεός*, 'His Word is alone of Him,' (literally 'out of,' 'derived out of' Him,) 'wherefore He 'is God, being 'the substance of God. But the universe is out of nothing, 'therefore it is not God.' This will be recognised at once as the Nicene argument, if we may so call it. The Word, or Son, is of God, therefore He is God. S. Hippolytus derived it from his master, S. Irenæus: it is his great and immortal maxim, *τὸ ἐκ Θεοῦ γεννηθέν, Θεός ἐστιν*,¹ 'that which is begotten of God, is God.' The English language fails to express the great distinction implied in the Greek preposition, which gives this meaning, 'that which is produced *out of* God, is God.' M. Bunsen, in his fourth volume, imagines S. Hippolytus discussing the expressions of the Nicene Creed. One would have thought he would have simply rejoiced to see his own statements of doctrine almost expressly repeated there. The words of the Creed, as set forth by the Council, being, — 'γεννηθέντα ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς μονογενῆ, τουτέστιν ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ Πατρὸς· Θεὸν ἐκ Θεοῦ γεννηθέντα οὐ ποιηθέντα, ὁμοούσιον τῷ Πατρί,' — 'begotten of the Father, as His only begotten, that is out of (ἐξ) the substance of the Father, God of God begotten, not made, of one substance with the Father.'

We will not leave this extract from the Confession of Hippolytus, without noticing two other points. 1. At p. 157, in addressing mankind, he says, 'For if He had willed to make 'thee a God, He could have done so: thou hast the *example* of 'the Word: [but] willing to make thee man, He made thee 'man.' The meaning of the passage is obvious; and though we think every one will be disposed to say of S. Hippolytus, 'minus cautè locutus est,' it is very evident that he held that the Word both had a personal subsistence, and was God: otherwise his argument falls to the ground. We give the words and translation from M. Bunsen:—

The Greek words are:—

εἰ γὰρ θεόν σε ἠθέλησε ποιῆσαι, ἐδύνατο· ἔχεις τοῦ Λόγου τὸ παράδειγμα· ἄνθρωπον θέλων, ἄνθρωπὸν σε ἐποίησεν.

M. Bunsen translates it:—

'If he had willed to make thee a God, he could have done so: *for* thou hast the *image* of the Logos: but willing to make thee a man, a man he made thee.'

M. Bunsen translates *παράδειγμα*, 'image;' a sense it cannot have, and puts in 'for,' where it is not found in the Greek, instead of where it is. We suppose he wished it to mean that man might have been made God, because the image of the

¹ Lib. i. 8. § 5, p. 41.

Word is in him. We presume it is by the passage so translated that M. Bunsen would show that S. Hippolytus agreed with his view, that '*the soul*, i.e. every human soul, *is a part of the self-consciousness of God*' (i.e. the Logos), or that '*reason is of the Divine substance, the image and reflection of the eternal, Divine reason*' (i.e. the Logos); and it would be a great help to those who would argue that the '*historical Christ*' is called God, though really only a human being in whom the Logos is especially manifested.

2. The other, and the last thing we shall observe on this place, is the quiet way in which, after having thus, either in ignorance or by stealth, got rid of two most important statements on the divinity and personality of the Word, by gross mistranslations, M. Bunsen wishes to destroy a third by forcibly altering the text. The words in the Greek, as we have it, run thus,—*Ἐχριστὸς γὰρ ἐστὶν ὁ κατὰ πάντων Θεός, ὃς τὴν ἁμαρτίαν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀποπλύνειν προσέταξε, νέον τὸν παλαιὸν ἄνθρωπον ἀποτελῶν, εἰκόνα τοῦτον καλέσας ἀπ' ἀρχῆς, τὴν εἰς σὲ ἀποδεκνύμενος στοργήν.* There is no objection to this reading, except that it says that Christ is '*God of all*,' or '*God over all*,' ὁ κατὰ πάντων Θεός; and that it seems to say that Christ gave command to wash away sins. M. Bunsen expresses these objections in the following note:—

'This important sentence needs correction, unless one will place the author in contradiction with himself. He cannot have said that Christ was the Father, which the words in the present text imply. He cannot have said that Christ ordered men to wash off sins. God, according to His eternal purpose of redemption, ordered Christ to wash away the sins of mankind, making new the old man. The absurdity of the present text becomes still more glaring, if we recollect what we have just heard Hippolytus say of the relation of God the Creator to the Logos' [in the passages we have cited]. 'The corruption of the text may be accidental, (through the repetition of the last two letters of Θεός); but it may also be the consequence of a *designed correction in pejus*.'

In the text he alters it thus; (we give his translation in the parallel column)—

Ἐχριστός γὰρ ἐστὶν [ὁ] ὁ κατὰ πάντων Θεός (i. Θεός, ὃς) τὴν ἁμαρτίαν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀποπλύνειν προσέταξε, νέον τὸν παλαιὸν ἄνθρωπον ἀποτελῶν, εἰκόνα τοῦτον καλέσας ἀπ' ἀρχῆς διὰ τύπον, τὴν εἰς σὲ ἐπιδικνύμενος στοργήν. οὐ προστάγμασιν ὑπακούσας σεμνοῖς, καὶ ἀγαθοῦ ἀγαθὸς γενόμενος μιμητὴς, ἐστὶν ὅμοιος ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τιμηθεῖς. Σοῦ γὰρ πτωχεύει Θεός καὶ σὲ Θεὸν ποιήσας εἰς δόξαν αὐτοῦ . . .

For Christ is he whom the God of all has ordered to wash away the sins of mankind, renewing the old man, having called him his image from the beginning typically, showing forth his love to thee. If thou art obedient to his solemn behests, and becomest a good follower of him who is good, thou wilt become like him, honoured by him. For God acts the beggar towards thee, and having made thee God to his glory . . .

On this we will only observe that it is plain that Christ, not the Father, is the subject of the several participles and verbs: that it is He who does all these things for us; that the command or commission to men to wash away sins, is not more surprising than that to Saul to arise and wash away his own sins—it is obviously a most natural expression; and, further, that the whole force of the argument is lost if it be not asserted that Christ is God. For it is on the condescension of 'the God of all' that the argument is built, as the concluding words show: 'for *thy God* becomes poor, having made even thee God unto His glory.' We think this the true rendering of *καὶ*, and that the passage is not mutilated. Every one will recognise the allusion to S. Paul's words, 2 Cor. viii. 9, 'Ye know the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, that, though He was rich, yet for your sakes He became poor (*ἐπτώχευσεν*), that ye through His poverty might be rich.' The expression *πτώχειν* is the Apostle's expression, and the contrast between Christ and us, is the same. Lastly, as S. Hippolytus had just been speaking of men being made divine through Christ, it was quite necessary to introduce some such distinguishing words as these, 'God of all,' to mark the true Godhead of the Son in contrast to 'the Divine nature,' (2 Peter i. 4,) of which Christians are 'made partakers.'

The real gist of the objection alleged by M. Bunsen lies in the words, 'He cannot have said that Christ was the Father, which the words in the present text imply:' that is to say, Hippolytus could not have said that Christ is *ὁ κατὰ πάντων Θεός*, because that title belongs exclusively to God the Father. Now at this place we are indeed bewildered. M. Bunsen professes to have read Hippolytus's works, and in particular the treatise against Noetus. He makes copious extracts from it; he talks familiarly of Dorner's treatment of it,—nay, he had gone over it with so careful and critical an eye as to be able to say that, he 'does not think there is more than one interpolation in the text of the treatise against Noetus.'—vol. i. p. 251. Now is this a wanton assertion, or had he run his eye over it so carelessly as to overlook some most important portions of it? Or did he not perceive their relation to the passage before us? Our readers must judge for themselves. M. Bunsen translates *ὁ κατὰ πάντων Θεός* at the beginning of the Confession of Faith, 'the universal God,' in the place now before us, 'the God of all.' We apprehend we are not acting unfairly in saying that, *ὁ ἐπὶ πάντων Θεός*, 'the God over all,' though it does not express exactly the same idea, is, at the very least, as strong an expression. Now

¹ The Son is said in the Treatise against Noetus, c. 14, to be *διὰ πάντων*. In both the places where the words *ὁ κατὰ πάντων Θεός* are used in the Confession before us, it seems designed to express true, omnipresent, universal Godhead, as opposed

it is notorious that this designation was applied especially to the Father, with reference to the Son and the Holy Ghost; according to that mutual relation of prerogative and subordination, by which the Father is greater than the Son. In this sense, God the Father was especially called, 'God over all;' the passages are too numerous to cite. Now the Noetian doctrine was, that the Father became incarnate, and Himself was Jesus Christ. They alleged many texts in proof of this: amongst them the words of S. Paul, Rom. ix. 5, 'Of whom, as concerning the flesh, Christ came, who is God over all, blessed for ever,' *Χριστὸς ὁ ἐπὶ πάντων Θεός, εὐλόγητος εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας*. If any one wishes to see in a small compass how very usual was the application of the specific title, *ὁ ἐπὶ πάντων Θεός*, to the Father; and again, how decidedly the assertion that Christ was the God over all was considered to be the token of Sabellianism, we refer him to the numerous extracts from the Fathers in Wetstein's note on Rom. ix. 5.

But we will confine ourselves to S. Hippolytus. In the second chapter of his treatise against Noetus, which treatise, be it remembered, 'does not contain more than one interpolation,' he states the arguments of the Noetians, and amongst other texts of Scripture on which they rested, he cites this, (Rom. ix. 5,) 'Christ, who is God over all, blessed for ever,' *Χριστὸς ὁ ἐπὶ πάντων Θεός, εὐλόγητος εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας*: and, in chapter 6, he engages in a refutation of the argument derived from it. Now, M. Bunsen ought to have known this; for the words occur at the very beginning of the chapter, and anyhow could scarcely have escaped observation; and the argument upon them occupies great part of that chapter. Yet we cannot believe that he had read it, because in it Hippolytus argues this very point against Noetus, and shows, that though Christ is God over all, it does not follow that He is the Father Himself. His words are:—

'As to what the Apostle says: "Whose are the Fathers, and of whom as concerning the flesh Christ came, who is God over all blessed for ever;" it is well and clearly explained by the mystery of the truth. He is God over all, for thus He says expressly, "All things are delivered unto Me of the Father." He has been made God over all blessed, and though He has become man, is God for ever. For thus also John has said: "He who is and was, and is to come, God Almighty." Rightly has he called Christ Almighty,' &c.¹

to the local limited deities of heathenism, or the figurative application of the word (as in Ps. lxxxii. 6, S. John x. 34) to men.

¹ Ο δὲ λέγει ὁ ἀπόστολος. Ὡν οἱ Πατέρες, ἐξ ὧν ὁ Χριστὸς ὁ κατὰ σάρκα, ὁ ὧν ἐπὶ πάντων Θεός εὐλογητός εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας· καλῶς διηγείται καὶ λαμπρῶς τοῦ ἀληθείας μυστήριον. οὗτος ὁ ὧν ἐπὶ πάντων Θεός ἐστιν, λέγει γὰρ οὕτω μετὰ παρρησίας, Πάντα μοι παραδέδοται ὑπὸ τοῦ Πατρὸς. ὁ ὧν ἐπὶ πάντων Θεός εὐλογητός γενένηται, καὶ ἄνθρωπος γενόμενος Θεός ἐστιν εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας.

What then is to be said of the critic who alters, 'Christ, who is the God of all, commanded,' into 'Christ, whom the God of all commanded;' because, forsooth, Hippolytus would contradict himself if he said that Christ was God of all? How can a writer be trusted, who, professing to come fresh from the reading of the treatise against Noetus, of which this is a principal argument, asserts that Hippolytus could not do that which he himself is most careful to show he can; that is, consistently with his doctrine, apply to Christ an epithet which was applied to Him by S. Paul?

The Noetians, be it observed, alleged the words, 'Christ, who is God over all, blessed for ever,' as a conclusive argument in favour of their doctrine. They do not seem to have had any suspicion, that it could have been overthrown by a difference of punctuation; nor does that mode of meeting their allegation appear to have presented itself to S. Hippolytus. We must suppose that he had never heard of such a mode of punctuation: for why go about to explain the text in the way he does, if the Noetians had cited it in a totally different sense from that which the received punctuation required? Now, M. Bunsen being so familiar with all critical questions, and holding so decided a view that 'the text which is the same as the ancient Church read, is the right text,' (vol. iv. p. 33,) how is it that he did not observe that Hippolytus connected the words, 'God over all' with 'Christ?' He says very much about our putting the point in a wrong place, in S. John i. 2, 3. (vol. iv. pp. 31, 127,) and makes Hippolytus exceedingly surprised at our having pointed that text as it is in our received editions. How is it that he did not observe that his friends, the modern German critics, have departed in the same way from the primitive reading of this verse;¹ and why was not S. Hippolytus astonished at the mistakes made in the *critical* editions of the New Testament, which point it so as to mean, 'of whom as concerning the flesh, Christ came? God, who is over all, be blessed for ever.' Is it of more importance to point aright the text, 'without Him was not anything made; what was made through Him was life,' &c., than to vindicate this direct testimony to our blessed Lord's Godhead from the corruptions of critical editors?

That the words would not have been so written by S. Paul,

οὕτως γὰρ καὶ Ἰωάννης εἶπεν 'Ὁ ὦν καὶ ὁ ἦν, καὶ ὁ ἐρχόμενος ὁ Θεὸς ὁ παντοκράτωρ' καλῶς εἶπεν παντοκράτορα Χριστόν, κ. τ. λ.—Cont. Noet. c. 6.

¹ So vol. i. p. 109. M. Bunsen, almost for the purpose, as it seems, of introducing his own view on the reading of 1 Tim. iii. 16, cites the words thus: 'He who was manifested in the flesh,' &c. He might have noticed that in the treatise against Noetus, c. 17, printed by him, vol. i. p. 256, there is, possibly, a confirmation of the other reading, οὗτος προελθὼν εἰς κόσμον Θεὸς ἐν σώματι ἐφανερώθη.

had he wished to say, 'God, who is over all, be blessed for ever,' is clear. But that is not our point. We are concerned only with this question, How was the verse read in the primitive Church? We have seen how Hippolytus and his adversaries agreed in reading it. Now there was no theological object to gain by connecting the words, 'God over all,' with 'Christ;' on the contrary, they presented a great difficulty to the orthodox. But S. Hippolytus's treatment of the text shows that he knew no other way of understanding them. So Irenæus cited them, lib. iii. c. 16. 3, though elsewhere he shows that, in relation to the Son, the Father is God over all, lib. ii. c. 28, 8. So did Tertullian against Praxeas, c. 13, showing that Christ is thus called God by the example of the Apostle: and somewhat later, by Novatian on the Trinity, c. 13. and 30, and Cyprian against the Jews, ii. 6, (the difference of reading we are aware of;) both in argument. In a totally different, and most critical school, they were so cited by Origen in his commentary on the words, and argued on by him: and by Dionysius of Alexandria, in the Epistle about Paul of Samosata, (p. 248,) alleging them in an argument for the divinity of Christ: to say nothing of the concurrent and unanimous usage of the Nicene and post-Nicene Fathers, indeed the whole of antiquity. On the other hand stand early MSS., but all more recent than this. Why, then, should not Hippolytus say of this text, 'it is difficult for me to believe how later changes can have improved an old text, or what importance it can be to know the different ways in which subsequent copyists disfigured and interpolated the texts read by the Fathers, when the old texts agree so well among themselves?' (Vol. iv. p. 32.)

This is a clear case of pure criticism, and we apprehend that there is no doubt that the readings we find in the writings of the Fathers—essentially involved, be it observed, in their argument, and therefore not 'interpolations'—are the true readings, and that the new punctuation arose from a faithless fear of seeming to encourage Sabellianism: our own Version and the Latin avoid it by translating—'Who is over all, God blessed for ever,' instead of—'Who is God over all, blessed for ever,'—thereby escaping from the ambiguity.

Our object in this digression is, to point out two remarkable instances of virtual dishonesty in critical editors of high repute, Tischendorf and Wetstein. Of the former, we are grieved to say anything which may seem ungrateful. But the high character which his editions justly hold, requires it the more. Tischendorf points the words, . . . Χριστὸς τὸ κατὰ σάρκα. ὁ ὢν ἐπὶ πάντων Θεός, κ.τ.λ. and has this note 'sæpe ὁ ὢν etc. a pp. [ut Ath. Cæs. Theodor. Mop.] ita laudantur ut planè cum

ἰ Χριστὸς conjungant.' That is to say, 'the words are *often* cited by the Fathers, as Athanasius, Cæsarius, Theodorus of Mopsuesta, so as to connect the words, "who is over all, God blessed for ever," with "Christ." The fact is, that every Father, including the Antenicene Fathers, who does cite it, cites it thus: but this fact is wholly suppressed; and yet these very Fathers, Hippolytus, and Irenæus, and Tertullian, and Cyprian, are cited as authorities for variations in the readings, only a line or two before. M. Bunsen makes Hippolytus say in his Apology: 'as long as there shall be *critical and honest* inquiry of *truth-seeking* minds, and *courage to believe in truth*, historical facts seem to me as much capable of demonstration as mathematical truths.' We do not inquire into the philosophy of this statement, nor do we say to whom the epithets 'critical,' 'honest,' 'truth-seeking,' are applicable: but we do say, that if there be an historical fact capable of demonstration, it is this—that the whole ancient Church read the words so as to apply to Christ the title, 'God over all, blessed for ever,' and that Tischendorf's text is not the primitive text.

We referred to Wetstein, and found several moderns, as Locke and Erasmus, cited in favour of the pointing which he adopts; which is the same as Tischendorf's. We found ONE ancient name; we cite the words 'Q. 91, ex N.T. *Augustino* adscript. Sed ad Patris personam pertinere dicatur.' 'In Question 91 on the New Testament, ascribed to Augustine; but it 'may be said that this refers to the person of the Father.' We looked to this spurious but ancient work:--reading M. Bunsen had made us suspicious. We found that the words cited are an imagined objection, to which the writer immediately replies—that the Father was not mentioned, and they could not be referred to Him. The Pseudo-Augustin's words are, 'But perhaps it may be said, that it refers to the Person of the Father? But in this place there is no mention of the name of the Father; and therefore if it is denied that it is said of Christ, let some person to whom it does apply be supplied.'

Far be it from us to depreciate in any degree the labours of critics: but let them be honest and candid critics, and not, like Wetstein on this place, bring forth a heap of passages showing the Father is distinctively called *ὁ ἐνὶ πάντων Θεός*, and that it was a sign of Sabellianism to call the Son so, when he actually cites the explanation given by Hippolytus, and copied from him by Epiphanius, which showed that they did not question that these words are said by S. Paul of the Son, and may be so said

¹ 'Sed forte ad Patris personam pertinere dicatur? sed hoc loco nulla est paterni nominis mentio. Ideoque si de Christo dictum negatur, persona cui competat detur.'

consistently with the truth. Let him not, when every single Father who cites these words applies them to the Son, fall back on Julian the Apostate's saying, that S. Paul did not venture to call Jesus God, or cite as the Pseudo-Augustin's own sentiment, a view which that writer states only to refute.

M. Bunsen lays great stress on the importance of applying the principles of true criticism to the ancient monuments of Christianity. A large portion of these volumes consists of such so-called critical restorations of the genuine Creeds, and Laws, and Liturgies of the Primitive Church; and we have seen before the repeated mention of the critical restorations he has in hand. It becomes of some importance, therefore, to understand clearly what he means by critical restoration. To us it appears to be a wanton omission or insertion of words and clauses, in order, if possible, to bring the statements of the ancient writers into harmony with M. Bunsen's view of what was 'the general consciousness of the ancient Church.' This is indeed impossible, because the expressions of their faith, of this 'general consciousness,' are inwoven in the very fabric of their writings. But it is of some importance, nevertheless, to come to a clear understanding of what is meant by saying, 'Take away *ignorance, misunderstandings, and forgeries*, and the naked truth remains; not a spectre carefully to be veiled, but an image of divine beauty, radiant with eternal truth.' We have seen one specimen, in the expunging the words $\delta\ \kappa\alpha\tau\grave{\alpha}\ \pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\omega\nu\ \Theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma$, applied to Christ; we shall shortly see another, in his marking as an interpolation the words, $\tau\acute{o}\ \delta\epsilon\ \tau\acute{\rho}\iota\tau\omicron\nu\ (\pi\rho\acute{o}\sigma\omega\pi\omicron\nu)\ \tau\acute{o}\ \hbar\gamma\iota\omicron\nu\ \Pi\nu\epsilon\upsilon\mu\alpha$, 'and the third Person is the Holy Spirit.'

But it may not be out of place to adduce an instance, not from the hastily written letters to Archdeacon Hare, but from a more deliberate composition—the third volume—where M. Bunsen is engaged in *restoring to their genuine form* the Hymns of the Primitive Church. The hymn we refer to is the *Gloria in Excelsis*, which there is every reason to believe has come down from the very earliest Christian antiquity; but of which there are two forms, one used by the Eastern, the other by the Western Church. M. Bunsen gives the Eastern form, as it is found in the Codex Alexandrinus, where it is appended, with the other ecclesiastical canticles, to the Psalter, as is usual in the Greek MSS. of the Old Testament. The Latin he gives as it is now used in the service of the Church. He places in a third parallel column the hymn as it stands in the pseudo-Apostolical Constitutions; admitting, at the same time, that in the Constitutions 'the original text has evidently been paraphrased, and may have been tampered with.' It is well known that these

Constitutions were held to have been Arianized. M. Bunsen, like Whiston, seems to have a great regard for them, and to consider that 'critically restored' they would be a genuine monument of antiquity: which is probably true, if there were a sufficient basis for a sound critical restoration.

The important difference between the Eastern and Western forms of the *Gloria in Excelsis* lies in the place in which the glorifying of the Holy Spirit is introduced. In the Eastern form the words run thus: 'We glorify Thee, &c. O God the Father Almighty, O Lord the only begotten Son, and O Holy Ghost. O Lord Jesu Christ, O Lord God, Lamb of God,' &c. And in the concluding clauses the mention of the Holy Spirit does not occur, the words being, 'For Thou only art holy, Thou only art the Lord, O Jesus Christ, unto the glory of God the Father.' Now M. Bunsen argues from this difference that the mention of the Holy Ghost, in both forms, is a late insertion. He says: 'About the year 380, Hilarius, it appears, transferred this 'Hymn, in his liturgical compositions and collections, from the 'Greek to the Latin Church, according to a text not entirely 'accordant with the Alexandrian codex.' (vol. iii. p. 134.) Now, of this passage it is not too much to say, that, not merely the statement as a whole, but each individual clause of it, contains a misrepresentation. 'About the year 380:' we presume that M. Bunsen fixed on the year 380 because it was the latest date anterior to the Council of Constantinople in 381, which asserted, against the Macedonians, the doctrine of the personality of the Holy Spirit. But unfortunately S. Hilary was dead at that time: he died in 367, according to Clinton; and the data are explicit enough to fix it to about that year. He returned from the East about 360.¹ 'Hilarius, it appears,' &c.: we ask, How does it appear? We believe no one says anything like it, for 300 or 400 years after S. Hilary's death: after that, one John Belet, a middle age writer of no authority, whom it is simply ridiculous for a critical historian to mention, says that Hilary composed the Hymn, which we presume we are not to believe. But meanwhile the 4th Council of Toledo had mentioned Hilary's Hymns, and also the *Gloria in Excelsis*, but in such a way as to show that they did not connect it with Hilary. Indeed, as M. Bunsen is well aware, the hymns which S. Hilary is said to have written are of a totally different character from the *Gloria*; they are what we now call hymns, not rhythms.

¹ 380 may be a misprint for 360 or 350. S. Hilary's Episcopate is rightly placed 350, vol. iv. 449, 470. The assertion that the Latin text of the *Gloria in Excelsis* is ascribed to him is repeated, vol. iv. p. 207. We have read what is said in vol. iv. on the liturgical fragment supposed to be S. Hilary's.

Next, 'in his liturgical compositions and collections:' the argument requires that it should mean that Hilary made *liturgical compositions and collections*, and it implies that he derived them from the usages of the Eastern Church. Now Jerome tells us that amongst Hilary's works, was a *Liber Hymnorum*, and a *Liber Mysteriorum*; the hymns, we presume, were his own compositions; the *Liber Mysteriorum* was most probably a service-book for his own Church at Poitiers; but possibly only a modification of the rituals received in that and the neighbouring Churches. That Hilary promoted hymnody most successfully at Poitiers, and that thence his hymns spread to other Churches, is certain, and beautifully referred to in his writings. But M. Bunsen's assertion that he introduced the *Gloria in Excelsis* into the Latin Church is simply without foundation, and, we apprehend, contrary to fact.

For in the Bodleian Library there are very early MSS. of this hymn in Latin, according to the form of the Western usage, with the corresponding Greek in Latin characters; M. Bunsen will find an account of them in a tract of Thomas Smith, (so learned in what concerns the Eastern Church, but belonging to the same dark time in which Bull, Pearson, Dodwell, and Grabe lived,) in a little book called 'Smithi Miscellanea,' published in 1686. From this fact we should infer, that the hymn had been first used in the Western Church in Greek, at the time when Greek was a Christian language there: and that it had been originally introduced into the West in the form which it has since retained. This is certainly the most probable supposition, and we conceive that it had been in use in Rome before the time of Hippolytus, as we shall see presently; and it seems most probable that the old statement is true, that it was introduced by Telesphorus, whose pontificate M. Bunsen dates A.D. 117—127.

But, proceeding upon the supposition that S. Hilary did introduce this hymn into the West about 380, M. Bunsen argues that the words 'O Holy Ghost' in the Greek are an insertion,—'Who can believe that the Roman Church would have omitted 'something which she found in the Greek text, which she adopted 'into her Latin service?' We do not know so much of Liturgies as M. Bunsen appears to do; but we could believe it, for we imagine that the account given of the infinite variety of Liturgical forms is, that particular Churches modified the expressions of the forms which they adopted or derived from other Churches. Indeed, this is very strongly put by M. Bunsen himself (*e.g.* vol. iv. p. 160). Why should there not be several forms of the *Gloria in Excelsis*, as well as of the Creed, or the words of Consecration? Indeed it is not improbable that the whole may have grown up

by degrees; for we see the first elements of it in the dying words of the holy Polycarp. And that the glorification of the Holy Spirit should have been an original integral portion of it in its simplest state is most probable from that very circumstance which M. Bunsen himself, a few pages before, states; viz.—‘That which constituted the whole doctrinal consciousness of the ancient Church’ was, ‘the belief in the Father, the Son, and the Spirit.’ We demur to the word ‘whole.’ That the words, ‘O Holy Ghost,’ in the Eastern form, are out of place, is a mere assertion of M. Bunsen’s; the Orientals have ever so used them, from the date of the Alexandrian MS. to the present day. That the earliest forms of this hymn would in all probability contain an act of adoration to the Holy Spirit, is almost certain from the assertions of Justin Martyr and Hippolytus, that they ‘worshipped the Holy Ghost;’ προσκυνούμεν τὸ Ἅγιον Πνεῦμα:¹ from the fact that the Holy Spirit was thus glorified in the doxologies, as by Hippolytus himself against Noetus, (cap. ult.) attributing glory to Christ, ἅμα Πατρὶ καὶ Ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι, ‘together with the Father and the Holy Ghost;’ as well as in the genuine liturgical forms, and from the controversies which arose about the correct form of the *Gloria Patri*; which show both that the Holy Ghost was thus adored in primitive times, and also that any alteration in the received form would then have been most jealously watched. All this, by the way, proves that the ancient Church, even if they did not express it dogmatically, believed that the Holy Spirit was a Person; else why should they thus glorify Him?

Having thus theorised away the words, ‘with the Holy Ghost,’ out of the Latin, and ‘O Holy Ghost’ out of the Greek form, M. Bunsen proceeds upon this, with the aid of the Arianised Apostolical constitutions, to lay it down, that in the passage, as it would stand after the above removal—‘O God the Father Almighty, O Lord the only-begotten Son, O Lord God, Lamb of God, &c.—the words, ‘O Lord God,’ ought to be put next after ‘O God the Father Almighty,’ and to be followed by a pause, so as to conclude the address to the Father with that clause. Setting aside the Constitutions, where the form is quite altered, there is absolutely no ground whatever for this ‘restoration of the primitive text,’ except M. Bunsen’s deep-rooted imagination that the form we have is inconsistent with ‘the general consciousness of the ancient Church.’ He says, that the addressing these words to Christ, ‘in itself points to the Post-nicene period, when such expressions as the ancient Church ‘never dreamt of applying to Christ, were studiously applied

¹ S. Just. M. Apol. i. c. 6; S. Hippol. cont. Noet. c. 12.

‘(or made to apply) to Him.’ Yet, surely, the first days of Christianity were those in which the believers in the Gospel would most markedly distinguish themselves from the heathen, by recognising Christ as God. We dare not refer to Ignatius, but M. Bunsen himself cites Pliny, saying that the Christians praised Christ, ‘*tanquam Deum*,’ ‘as God,’ or, as Pliny might suppose, ‘as a God,’ and two pages after, in an extract from Ussher, the Little Labyrinth is cited, where Hippolytus alleges, as an evidence of the faith of the Church, against those who denied the Divinity of Christ, that ‘all the Psalms and Hymns of the brethren, which have been written by believers from the beginning, hymn Christ, the Word of God, *speaking of Him as God*.’¹ In another fragment of the same work, Hippolytus speaks of our ‘Merciful God and Lord Jesus Christ.’² We do not think it necessary to do more than give this specimen of critical restoration. It is enough to add, that universal consent has fixed on this hymn as one of those to which Hippolytus alludes, as hymning Christ as God, and it might well have been regarded as a settled point from the whole air of antiquity which the composition bears. We may now judge what is to be expected from these promised restorations of the primitive texts. No one, of course, denies that the Liturgies have been added to and interpolated, but all depends on the *soundness* and *faithfulness* of the criticism which we bring to bear upon them.

So far as we have had leisure to examine what M. Bunsen has written on the Creeds and the Liturgies, his treatment of them is characterized by the same unwarrantable assumptions, unfair suppression of facts, and rashness of theory, which we have noticed in other parts of his work.

We now revert to a passage in the first volume, pp. 251, 252, in that part of the letters to Archdeacon Hare in which M. Bunsen is treating of the Book of Hippolytus against Noetus.³

¹ Παλμοὶ δὲ ὅσοι καὶ ᾠδαὶ ἀδελφῶν ἀπ’ ἀρχῆς ὑπὸ πιστῶν γραφεῖσαι, τὸν Λόγον τοῦ Θεοῦ τὸν Χριστὸν ὑμνοῦσι θεολογοῦντες. Ap. Euseb. v. 23. (See Routh's Reliq.)

² Ὁ εὐσπλαχνὸς Θεὸς καὶ Κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστός.

³ Here we are again forced to notice a consequence of the precipitancy with which M. Bunsen has written. He complains of our ignorance of what is done by the theologians and critics in Germany: we have surely some right to complain of his ignorance of what we have done. We can feel for Fatherland as well as M. Bunsen. This writer hopes that the Oxford Press will print a critical edition of S. Hippolytus' works. He is evidently not aware that this Tract, which is well worth all the rest that S. Hippolytus has written, except the newly-discovered book, has been twice printed by the Delegates of the Oxford Press within the last few years, with suggested emendations, and critical and explanatory notes, partly selected, partly original, by one whom he must, we should think, bow to, both as a scholar and a theologian, whom he himself designates as ‘that almost centenary veteran amongst living authors, on the ancient monuments of Christianity—the venerable Dr. Routh.’ (Vol. i. p. 9.) The treatise and the notes are in the first

M. Bunsen writes with the utmost freedom about Hippolytus and Tertullian; he discourses on the place they occupy in the development of doctrine, and the relation of their views to each other, and to those of the rest of the Fathers. One would presume from all this,—indeed, any casual reader would take for granted,—that M. Bunsen was perfectly at home with these authors, that he had turned over their pages with careful thought, and that their expressions would be to him familiar as household words. Indeed, in one place he makes a very serious assertion on the subject. He says, in speaking of our received 'theological formularies' on the doctrine of the Son and the Holy Trinity:—

'They are not strictly reconcilable with the *true, genuine, uninterpolated* writings of the fathers of the first, second, and third centuries; *I speak advisedly*; for *I have read these writings with a sincere desire to understand and appreciate them*; and in judging them, I use nothing but the liberty, or rather, I exercise the duty, of a Protestant Christian searching for truth.'—Vol. i. p. 270.

We are not now speaking of writings which M. Bunsen may have read in former days, but with those on which he comments and expresses opinions as if they were now before him. To ascertain how much or how little reliance can be placed upon his statements and judgment, we must dwell upon one word, but a word all important to one who speaks of S. Hippolytus's views on the Trinity, or the position which he held in the dogmatic controversies of his time.

The word we refer to is *oikonomia*. It so happens that this word is of frequent occurrence in the treatise of Hippolytus

volume of Routh's *Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Opuscula*, a selection from the writings of primitive antiquity, made for the use of our younger students in Theology, of which a second edition was published in 1840, and which is now used as a class-book by the Regius Professor of Divinity in Oxford. The treatises were selected as testimonies to the Catholic Faith, combining clear and accurate statements of doctrine with ability and grace of composition. The Treatise of Hippolytus against Noetus was chosen by the venerable President as setting forth the doctrine of the Unity of God and the Personality of the Son; and yet this most unfortunate and presumptuous critic imagines that, by cutting out one single clause, he can make it witness to the very heresy (for such his own system is) against which Hippolytus contended.

We cannot forbear quoting Dr. Routh's exquisite Latin. His address to the reader begins thus:—

'LECTORI S. Testes hosce Ecclesiasticæ Doctrinæ a te peto, ut accipias benigne, quippe, quo propius absint a primordiis Christianismi, eo magis contra hæreticam pravitatem justissimas ob causas valent. Quæ res cum ita sit comparata, idcirco ex operibus antiquorum patrum libellos aliquot mihi visum est seligere, qui veritatem catholicam luculenter et accurate, tum vero scite et eleganter tradant.' . . .

In enumerating the works and the doctrinal subjects for which they were selected, he says,—

'De unitate Divina et Filii persona exponit S. Hippolyti liber ille contra Noetum.'

against Noetus, and in the writings of Tertullian—particularly in the passages which are most critical in respect to the doctrine of the Trinity; and that it occurs in a very peculiar sense,—in a sense in which it is not found, perhaps, in any other writer. One who had read in the original the tract of Tertullian against Praxeas—his great work, indeed *the* great work of that age on the doctrine of the Trinity—would have been so much struck by the word *οικονομία*, that he could not soon have forgotten it; and certainly, if he had studied at all carefully Tertullian's views on these points, or the history of the controversy at that time, which was continued or repeated shortly after in Hippolytus's day, he must have retained the recollection of that term as the very symbol of the orthodox view.

The word, as is well known, is of very frequent occurrence in the early Christian writers. It is used generally of the dispensations of God in Providence; of His dealings with His people under the Old Testament; and especially of the great dispensation of grace under the Gospel—of the Incarnation and the consequent acts and sufferings of our Saviour, and the influence of the Holy Spirit. Now, whether it was in a further derived sense, from the fact of the Persons of the Holy Trinity being manifested, and acting, as it were, distinctly in the dispensations of nature and grace, and of the ministrative offices of the Son and the Holy Spirit—or, further, from the notion which the term *οικονομία* suggests of mutual relations, (as those in earthly systems of parts to the whole, and mutually to each other,)—relations of prerogative and subordination,—we will not attempt to determine: but so it is, that Tertullian, and, as it would seem, the orthodox at Rome in his time, (for it was at Rome that the controversy appears to have been chiefly carried on,) and, as we shall see, in the time of Hippolytus, used the word *οικονομία* to express the mystery of the Trinity. 'We believe in the *οικονομία*,' was the watchword of the Trinitarians, as 'We hold the *μοναρχία*,' was that of the Unitarians. We use the word Unitarians, as it most nearly expresses the views of those who are technically, from their watchword, called Monarchians. The cause of their difficulty in holding the true faith arose from its appearing to be incompatible with that fundamental doctrine of religion, the Unity of God. Hence on the one side arose the mere Humanitarians, of whom Theodotus was the leader, who taught the doctrine to which, as it now appears, S. Hippolytus gave that name, which it has ever since retained, of 'the God-denying apostasy,' *τῆς ἀρνησιθεοῦ ἀποστασίας*:—the words occur in a fragment of The Little Labyrinth, or Treatise against Artemon, (cited by Eusebius, E. H. v. 28,) a work now identified as Hippolytus's. On the other hand

arose the Noetians, who, holding strictly the Divinity of Christ, and denying that there was any distinction of Persons in the Godhead, maintained that Jesus Christ was God the Father Himself, incarnate. Tertullian opposed these latter doctrines in his treatise against Praxeas; Hippolytus, in his personal contests against those who taught the same, under various modifications, at Rome in his own day, and formally in his treatise against Noetus; that he had Tertullian's treatise against Praxeas before him, and used it in the composition of this work, we think highly probable. Our readers may judge in some degree from the extracts we shall make from the two writers—in which, however, the correspondence will be quite incidental, as the selection is not with any reference to this point. Those who wish to compare the two more exactly, will find some passages supposed to correspond placed in parallel columns in Semler's 'Dissertation on the Life and Writings of Tertullian.' Semler, indeed, in supporting his strange theory about the origin of the writings of Tertullian, maintained that the treatise against Praxeas was derived from that of Hippolytus against Noetus; and he certainly shows a remarkable correspondence between them. We may use his facts, and draw a very different inference. We now know the position of Hippolytus, his time, his relation to the Noetian heresy, and its propugnators in the Church of Rome; and we also know that he made use of the writings of others without acknowledgment. We infer that he derived suggestions and expressions from Tertullian. Semler mentions the use of this very word *οικονομία*, and says that Hippolytus and Tertullian alone use it to express the Trinity;¹ the cause of which, we presume, is that they are the only writers whose works remain in connexion with the controversy at that place and time. M. Bunsen himself says:—

'The only writer who agrees with the view of Hippolytus on the relation of the Logos and the Son, and of both to the Father, and to the Spirit, is Tertullian; but no one could attribute our work, or that against Noetus, to him.'—P. 259.

This observation was inconsiderately and unfortunately made—unfortunately for the author's theory, we mean—as it admits that which utterly overthrows it. But as such is the admitted correspondence, nay, agreement of the two writers on these points, we shall be the more excusable for extracting somewhat largely from Tertullian. Our object is to show the sense in which he uses the word *οικονομία*, and, incidentally, to exhibit his belief in the Personality of the Holy Spirit, and of the Word before

¹ 'Hoc nomine præter Tertullianum et hunc scriptorem nemo usus fuit ad describendam Trinitatem.'—Semler, Op. Tertull. vol. v. p. 376.

the Incarnation. We desire that attention may be given to this point of the Personality, lest any should suppose that the word *οἰκονομία* implied only an unreal, temporary, or merely relative distinction of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit.

In the second chapter of his treatise against Praxeas, in setting forth the belief which he had himself learned in the Church, and only held the more intensely after he became a Montanist, he says: 'We believe in one only God, indeed; but yet under this dispensation, which we call *economy*, that of the one only God, there is also a Son, His own Word, who proceeded from Him, by whom all things were made, and without whom was nothing made: that He was sent from the Father into the Virgin, and born of her, Man and God, the Son of Man, and the Son of God, and was named Jesus Christ: that He suffered, &c., and sitteth, &c.: who thence sent, according to His promise, from the Father, the Holy Ghost the Comforter, the sanctifier of the faith of those who believe in the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost.' We cannot forbear to add Tertulian's testimony, that 'this rule of faith has come down from the very beginning of the Gospel, even before the existence of the earliest heretics, still more before that of Praxeas, who is but of yesterday, as is proved by the later original of all heretics, as well as by the newness of Praxeas, who sprang up but yesterday; by which the question is settled beforehand against all heresies in general, that that which is earliest, is true; that which is later is a corruption.' And presently after,² 'This heresy, the Noctian, thinks that it alone possesses the truth in its purity; whilst it conceives that we cannot believe one only God, otherwise than by saying that the selfsame One is both Father and Son and Holy Spirit. As though in that way in which we understand it, all were not One; seeing that all are of One—by unity (that is) of substance: and the mystery of

¹ 'Unicum quidem Deum credimus, sub hac tamen dispensatione, quam *οἰκονομία* dicimus, ut unici Dei sit et Filius Sermo ipsius, qui ex ipso processerit, per quem omnia facta sunt, et sine quo factum est nihil. Hunc missum a Patre in Virginem, et ex ea natum, hominem et Deum, filium hominis et filium Dei, et cognominatum Jesum Christum: hunc passum, hunc mortuum et sepultum, secundum scripturas, &c. . . qui exinde misit, secundum promissionem suam, a Patre Spiritum Sanctum Paracletum, sanctificatorem fidei eorum, qui credunt in Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum. Hanc regulam ab initio evangelii decessurrisse, etiam ante priores quosque hæreticos, nedum ante Praxeam hesternum, probabit tam ipsa posteritas omnium hæreticorum, quam ipsa novellitas Praxeæ hesterni. Quo pereque adversus universas hæreses jam hinc præjudicatum sit, id esse verum, quodcumque primum, id esse adulterum, quodcumque posterius.'

² 'Maximè hæc [perversitas] quæ se existimat meram veritatem possidere, dum unicum Deum non alias putat credendum, quam si ipsum eundemque Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum dicat, quasi non sic quoque unus sint omnia, dum ex uno omnia, per substantiæ scilicet unitatem, et nihilominus custodiat *οἰκονομία*

'the *economy* is nevertheless guarded, which arranges the Unity into a Trinity, distinguishing Three, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. Three,' he proceeds,—'non statu, sed gradu: non substantia, sed forma, non potestate, sed specie,'—not in state, but grade; not in substance, but form; not in power, but aspect.² But of one substance, and one state, and one power; because there is one God, from whom those forms, and grades, and aspects are reckoned, in the name of Father, and Son, and Holy Spirit. How they admit of number without division the following arguments shall show. For simple, not to say unintelligent and uneducated men, who always form the largest portion of believers—seeing that the very Rule of Faith itself (*i. e.* the Creed, confessed at Baptism) transfers them from the many Gods of the world to the one only and true God; not understanding that we must indeed believe in one only God, but together with His *economy*,—draw back with alarm from the *economy*. They assume that the number and mutual relation (*dispositio*) of the Trinity, is a dividing of the Unity; but wrongly so, seeing that the Unity drawing out the Trinity from itself, is not destroyed but ministered to by it. So they give it out that we preach two or three Gods; and that they are worshippers of one God; as though the Unity unreasonably contracted did not make heresy; and the Trinity reasonably drawn out did not constitute the truth. They say, 'We hold the *monarchia*;' and so articulately do even Latins, even the uneducated, (the variation of reading is immaterial,) utter the sound, that you would suppose they understood [the meaning of] *monarchia*,

sacramentum, quæ unitatem in trinitatem disponit, tres dirigens, Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum, tres autem, non statu, sed gradu, nec substantiâ, sed formâ, nec potestate, sed specie, unius autem substantiæ, et unius status et unius potestatis, quia unus Deus, ex quo et gradus isti et formæ et species in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti deputantur. Quomodo autem numerum sine divisione patiuntur, procedentes tractatus demonstrabunt.

'Simplices enim quique, ne dixerim imprudentes et idiotæ, quæ major semper credentium pars est, quoniam et ipsa regula fidei a pluribus diis sæculi ad unicum et verum Deum transfert, non intelligentes unicum quidem, sed cum suâ *oikonomia* esse credendum, expavescent ad *oikonomia*. Numerum et dispositionem trinitatis divisionem præsumunt unitatis, quando unitas ex semet ipsa derivans trinitatem non destruat ab illa, sed administretur. Itaque duos et tres jam jactitant a nobis prædicari, se vero unius Dei cultores præsumunt, quasi non et unitas irrationaliter collecta hæresim faciat, et trinitas rationaliter expensa veritatem constituat. Monarchiam, inquit, tenemus. Et ita sonum ipsum vocaliter expriment etiam Latini, etiam Opici, ut putes illos tam bene intelligere monarchiam quam enuntiant. Sed monarchiam sonare student Latini, *oikonomia* intelligere nolunt etiam Greci.'

¹ We despair of expressing adequately in English the words of which we have cited the Latin. That *status* means the Godhead in rest (so to say), that is, independently of operation in respect of man; *gradus*, the same in operation, is shown to be an error by the uses of *gradus* in other places. The word *species* means more than aspect, it is used c. 13, and c. 8, of the ray in relation to the sun, the stream to the spring, the shrub to the root.

'as well as they pronounce it. But whilst Latins are studious 'to pronounce the word *monarchia*, even Greeks are unwilling to 'understand *œconomia*.' Observe the watchwords.

Again—and these citations shall be more brief—c. 8.¹ 'Every-thing which cometh forth from any is a second in relation to 'that from which it cometh forth. Yet it is not on that 'account separated from it. Now where there is a second '[person],² there are two [persons], and where there is a *third*, 'there are three. For the Spirit is third from God and the 'Son, as the fruit out of the shrub is third from the root, and 'the streamlet out of the river is third from the fountain-head, 'and the extreme point of the ray is third from the sun. Still 'it is in nothing alien from the source from which it derives its 'properties. Thus the Trinity flowing down from the Father 'by entwined and connected grades, is in no wise contradictory 'to the *monarchia*, and protects the estate of the *œconomia*.'

Again in the next chapter, speaking of the Son being '*alius a patre*,' another [person] than the Father, he says,³ 'Our Lord 'calls the Comforter another than Himself, ("He will send you '*another* Comforter") as we also call the Son another than the 'Father, that He may indicate in the Comforter a *third* grade '(*gradus*), as we do a second in the Son, from our careful 'regard to the *economy*.'

Lastly,⁴ 'I say this of necessity, when they contend that the 'same person is both Father, and Son, and Holy Spirit, flatter-
ing 'the *monarchia*, in opposition to the *economy*,' &c. (the distinguishing watchwords again.)

We cite a few words more to illustrate Tertullian's view of the Three Persons of the Trinity, c. 11⁵: 'Almost all the Psalms

¹ 'Omne, quod prodit ex aliquo, secundum sit ejus necesse est, de quo prodit, non ideo tamen est separatum. Secundus autem ubi est duo sunt; et tertius ubi est, tres sunt. Tertius enim est Spiritus a Deo et Filio, sicut tertius a radice fructus ex frutice, et tertius a fonte rivus ex flumine, et tertius a sole apex ex radio. Nihil tamen a matrice alienatur, a qua proprietates suas ducit. Ita trinitas per consertos et connexos gradus à Patre decurrens, et monarchiæ nihil obstrepat, et *oikonomia* statum protegit.'

² We add the word *person* in brackets, because it is implied in the masculine adjective, according to that distinction of Tertullian, which has been perpetuated as an established *dictum* in Catholic theology. '*Qui tres unum sunt, non unus; quomodo dictum est, Ego et Pater unum sumus; ad substantiæ unitatem, non ad numeri singularitatem*,' adv. Prax. c. 25, and as he adds, c. 23, Had Christ said, '*unus sumus*,' it might have given some colour to Praxeas' doctrine.

³ 'Sic alium a se Paracletum, quomodo et nos a Patre alium Filium, ut tertium gradum ostenderet in Paraceto, sicut nos secundum in Filio, propter *oikonomia* observationem.'

⁴ 'Necessitate autem hoc dico, cum eundem Patrem et Filium et Spiritum contendunt, adversus *oikonomia* monarchiæ adulantes.'

⁵ 'Omnes pene psalmi Christi personam sustinent, Filium ad Patrem, id est Christum ad Deum verba facientem repræsentant. Animadvertite etiam Spiritum loquentem ex tertia persona de Patre et Filio: Dixit Dominus Domino meo, Sede ad dextram meam, donec ponam inimicos tuos scabellum pedum tuorum. Item per

'speak in the Person of the Son; they represent a Son addressing Himself to a Father, that is, Christ addressing Himself to God. Observe, also, the Holy Ghost speaking *as a third person* of the Father and the Son; The Lord said unto my Lord, Sit thou on my right hand until I make thine enemies thy footstool, &c. The Holy Ghost speaks through Isaiah, 'These things saith the Lord to my Lord the anointed. Again, through the same, speaking to the Father about the Son: Lord, who hath believed our report, and to whom is the arm of the Lord revealed; for He shall grow up before Him as a tender plant, and as a root out of a dry ground, &c. These are a few passages out of many, for we attempt not to go over the whole of Scripture; but by these passages, few as they are, the distinction of the Trinity is thus manifestly set forth. There is Himself who speaks, the Spirit, and the Father to whom He speaks, and the Son about whom He speaks; so also the rest (of the words of Scripture) which one while are said to the Father about the Son, or to the Son; one while to the Son about the Father, or to the Father; one while to the Spirit, to show the distinction of the *Three Persons*: to establish each Person severally in his own peculiar property.' In the next chapter, Tertullian cites the texts, 'Let *Us* make man,' and, 'The man is become as one of *Us*;' and 'The Lord rained fire from the Lord,' &c., as evidences of the distinct personality of the Son and the Holy Spirit. But we might transcribe the whole treatise, for this is its chief argument.

We are not concerned with the correctness of Tertullian's views and reasonings; our point is only this, a pure question of fact:—What was the belief of Tertullian and Hippolytus on the point before us? M. Bunsen alleges the agreement of view between Hippolytus and Tertullian. Yet in the Apology he makes Hippolytus speak of our doctrine as a thing unknown to him. He attributes to him his own strange notions about the Logos; and he makes him argue largely against the personality of the Holy Spirit. (Vol. i. p. 167, vol. iv. pp. 66, 199.)

We have cited the passages at length, not only to illustrate the meaning of the term *οικονομία*, as used by Tertullian, but

Essaium : Hæc dicit Dominus Domino meo Christo. Item per eundem ad Patrem de Filio : Domine, quis credidit auditui nostro, et brachium Domini cui revelatum est? Adnuntiavimus de illo, sicut puerulus, sicut radix in terra sitiens, et non erat forma ejus, nec gloria. Hæc pauca de multis. Nec enim affectamus universas scripturas evolvere, cum et in singulis capitulis plenam majestatem et auctoritatem contestantes majorem congressum in retractatibus habeamus. His itaque paucis tam manifeste distinctio Trinitatis exponitur. Est enim ipse, qui pronuntiat, Spiritus, et Pater, ad quem pronuntiat, et Filius, de quo pronuntiat. Sic et cetera, quæ nunc ad Patrem de Filio vel ad Filium, nunc ad Filium de Patre vel ad Patrem, nunc ad Spiritum pronuntiantur; unamquamque personam in sua proprietate constituunt.

also to show that one who was at all acquainted with his writings on the Trinity must have been familiar with it. Nay, further, that in the great struggle which was going on in the Church of Rome, in the early part of the third century, against Noetianism,—which, be it observed, is that very struggle in which, next after Tertullian, (so far as we know,) Hippolytus took the leading place, into which he threw his whole soul; in this great struggle the *οικονομία* was the watchword of the party to which Hippolytus belonged, as *μοναρχία* was of their opponents. It is in this sense that it is repeatedly used in his treatise against Noetus. Yet M. Bunsen mistakes the meaning of *οικονομία*. He gives it the meaning, common elsewhere, of 'the Incarnation,' and so translates it in a place, where no sense can be made of the words of Hippolytus, if it be so translated. We should have thought that any one who read the treatise of Hippolytus against Noetus in the Greek, must have seen that *οικονομία* could not mean the Incarnation. We should have thought too that M. Bunsen would have known that there was this peculiarity about the word; that it is used by Hippolytus and Tertullian in this sense, as Neander and Dorner would have shown him, and that it is only by Hippolytus and Tertullian that it is so used.

True it is that in the old Latin version of Hippolytus against Noetus, by Franciscus Turrianus, which is reprinted in Fabricius's edition of his works, which M. Bunsen used, in a column alongside the Greek, we usually find, *æconomiam, id est, incarnationem*, and on c. 3, Fabricius brings together authorities for its having this meaning (as it usually has in other writers); but on the passage translated by M. Bunsen, Turrianus in his note, as if compelled by the context to modify his interpretation, but yet strangely missing the sense, says that *æconomia* in the early Fathers, sometimes means the Incarnation of the Son of God: sometimes, as here, the operation of the Holy Spirit in the mystery of the Incarnation. M. Bunsen, however, translates the words: 'As to myself, *I do not speak of two Gods*, but 'merely of One: only I establish two persons (*πρόσωπα*), and as 'the third, the Incarnation (*οικονομία*), the grace of the Holy Spirit.' The Greek is, 'Τί οὖν (φήσειεν ἄν τις) δύο λέγεις Θεούς (t. οὖν φήσειεν ἄν τις δύο λέγειν Θεούς); δύο μὲν οὐκ ἔρω Θεούς ἀλλ' ἢ ἓνα, πρόσωπα δὲ δύο, οἰκονομίαν δὲ τρίτην, τὴν χάριν τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος.' We submit that the words cannot be thus translated, for they must in that case have been *τρίτον δὲ τὴν οἰκονομίαν*, and if they could, the result would be the absence of any meaning; for what are we to understand as the substantive after 'a third;' the third *what*, as you would say to schoolboys? The meaning is: 'I establish two persons, and as the third Divine

relation, or ministration, the grace of the Holy Spirit.' What makes this point of greater importance is, that in the next clause of the passage, M. Bunsen cuts out, as an interpolation, some words which he feels are inconsistent with his notion of what Hippolytus believed. He certainly ought to have ascertained the meaning of the author's words before he presumed to reject a portion of the text, on no ground whatever but that the words do not agree with his own opinion, or with the statement which he cites from Meier, 'that Hippolytus decidedly ascribes no personality to the Holy Spirit.'

We give M. Bunsen's own words:—

'I will now give the text, omitting what is not essential, and premising only, that I do not think there is more than one interpolation in the text of the treatise against Noetus,' (we wish our readers to notice this admission, and to remember it,) 'I mean the passage in chap. xiv; where the introduction of the Holy Spirit not only disturbs the whole connexion of ideas,' (our readers will see the whole passage cited below,) 'but puts Hippolytus in opposition with himself, by making him call the Holy Spirit the third person [πρόσωπον]. I have therefore marked these words as spurious, by placing them between asterisks.' Πατήρ μὲν γὰρ εἷς, πρόσωπα δὲ δύο, ὅτι καὶ ὁ Υἱός, *τὸ δὲ τρίτον τὸ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα.*—Vol. i. p. 254.

We proceed, therefore, to examine the passages in which the word *οἰκονομία* is used by S. Hippolytus in this treatise, and then to look into this particular passage. Our purpose in doing so is far from being merely to show that M. Bunsen has misunderstood the meaning of a word, or wantonly condemned an important clause as interpolated. We hope that the real views of Hippolytus will thus appear in his own words.

In the third chapter of his treatise, after stating the Noetian arguments derived from texts of Holy Scripture, he says,²—

'The Scriptures indeed speak aright, but otherwise than Noetus understands them;³ but because Noetus understands them not, the Scriptures are not on that account to be rejected. For who will refuse to confess that there is one God? but he will not (therefore) deny the *economy*.'⁴

i. e. the Trinity, the Divine relations; the Incarnation would

¹ Dr. Routh suggests the reading, *οἰκονομία δὲ τρίτην*, 'and as third in the economy.'

² 'Αἱ μὲν γραφαὶ ὀρθῶς λέγουσιν, ἄλλα ἂν (for, ἀλλ' ἀνοήτως) καὶ Νόητος νοεῖ. Οὐκ ἤδη δὲ εἰ Νόητος μὴ νοεῖ, παρὰ τοῦτο ἐκβλητοὶ αἱ γραφαί. Τίς γὰρ οὐκ ἐρεῖ ἕνα Θεὸν εἶναι; ἀλλ' οὐ τὴν οἰκονομίαν ἀναιρήσει.

³ Dr. Routh elegantly suggests ἀλλ' ἀνοήτως καὶ Νόητος νοεῖ. So in the *Philosophumena* ix. 10. p. 283,—τοὺς νοητοὺς (for, ἀνοήτους) Νοητοῦ διαδόχους.

⁴ Dr. Routh reprints Fabricius's note, in which this is understood of the Incarnation, and adds, with the modesty of a true critic: 'Mea quidem sententia rectius dixeris, *οἰκονομίαν* hoc loco dispositionem illam esse monarchiæ divinæ, qua in salutis nostræ dispensatione Trinitas simul cum monarchia consistit. Vide Tertull. contra Praxeam, capp. 3, 4, et alibi.' See also his conjecture and note on the next clause.

be out of place. Again, in chap. 14¹—(we shall return to chap. 4).

'These things, then, my brethren, the Scriptures indicate. This *economy* [evidently the relation of the Father and the Son] the blessed John, also bearing testimony, delivers to us in his Gospel, and confesses that this Word is God, saying thus: "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God." If, then, the Word was with God, being God, why then, some one may say, Sayest thou there are two Gods? I do not confess two Gods, but one, and two Persons, and as the third *economy*, (*i. e.* Divine relation,) the grace of the Holy Spirit. For the Father is one, but there are two Persons, because there is the Son also, and the third the Holy Spirit. The Father commands, the Word performs; and the Son [*qu. the Spirit?*] is manifested, through whom the Father is believed on. The harmonious *economy* is drawn together into one God; for God is one: for He who commands is the Father; He who obeys is the Son; that which makes intelligent is the Holy Spirit. The Father that Is (being) above all, the Son through all, and the Holy Spirit in all. Nor can we otherwise hold One God, unless we really believe in Father, and Son, and Holy Spirit. For the Jews glorified the Father, but were not thankful, for they acknowledged not the Son. The disciples acknowledged the Son, but not in the Holy Spirit, wherefore also they denied Him. The Word of the Father, therefore, knowing the *economy* (the Divine relations) and the will of the Father, that the Father willeth not to be glorified otherwise than in this way, after He had risen gave commission to His disciples, saying: "Go ye, make disciples of all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit;" showing that any one who omits any one of these, has not glorified God perfectly. For it is through this Trinity that the Father is glorified. For the Father willed, the Son wrought, the Spirit manifested.'

¹ Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν, ἀδελφοί, σημαίνουσιν αἱ γραφαί, ταύτην τὴν οἰκονομίαν παραδίδωσιν ἡμῖν καὶ ὁ μακάριος Ἰωάννης ἐν Εὐαγγελίῳ μαρτυρῶν, καὶ τοῦτον τὸν Λόγον Θεὸν ὁμολογεῖ οὕτως λέγων, Ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν ὁ Λόγος, καὶ ὁ Λόγος ἦν πρὸς τὸν Θεόν, καὶ Θεὸς ἦν ὁ Λόγος. Εἰ δὲ οὖν ὁ Λόγος πρὸς τὸν Θεόν, Θεὸς ὢν, τί οὖν φήσκειν ἂν τις, δύο λέγειν (for, λέγεις) Θεούς; δύο μὲν οὐκ ἐρῶ Θεούς ἀλλ' ἢ ἓνα, πρόσωπα δὲ δύο, οἰκονομίαν (for, οἰκονομία) δὲ τρίτην, τὴν χάριν τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος. Πατὴρ μὲν γὰρ εἷς, πρόσωπα δὲ δύο, ὅτι καὶ ὁ Υἱός, τὸ δὲ τρίτον τὸ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα. Πατὴρ ἐντέλλεται, Λόγος ἀποτελεῖ, Υἱὸς δὲ δοξάζεται δι' οὗ Πατὴρ πιστεύεται. Οἰκονομία (for, καὶ οἰκονομία), [*sic ap. Routh., οἰκονομία Fabr.*], συμφωνίας συνάγεται εἰς ἓνα Θεόν, εἰς γὰρ ἐστὶν ὁ Θεός, ὁ γὰρ (for, ὁ γε) κελεύων, Πατὴρ, ὁ δὲ ὑπακούων, Υἱός, τὸ δὲ συνετίζων, ἅγιον Πνεῦμα. Ὁ ὢν (for, οὖν) Πατὴρ ἐπὶ πάντων, ὁ δὲ Υἱὸς διὰ πάντων, τὸ δὲ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα ἐν πᾶσιν. Ἄλλως τε ἓνα Θεὸν νομίσαι μὴ δυνάμεθα, εἰ μὴ ὄντως Πατρί καὶ Υἱῷ καὶ ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι πιστεύσωμεν. Ἰουδαῖοι μὲν γὰρ ἐδόξασαν Πατέρα, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἠγαθήσαν, Υἱὸν γὰρ οὐκ ἐπέγνωσαν, μαθηταὶ ἐπέγνωσαν Υἱόν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐν Πνεύματι ἁγίῳ, δι' ὃ καὶ ἠρνήσαντο. Γινώσκων οὖν ὁ πατὴρ ὁ Λόγος τὴν οἰκονομίαν καὶ τὸ θέλημα τοῦ Πατρὸς, ὅτι οὐκ ἄλλως βούλεται δοξάζεσθαι ὁ Πατὴρ ἢ οὕτως, ἀνάστας παρέδωκεν τοῖς μαθηταῖς λέγων· Πορευθέντες μαθητεύσατε πάντα τὰ ἔθνη, βαπτίζοντες αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ. καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος, δεικνύων ὅτι πᾶς ὅς ἂν ἐν τῇ τούτων ἐκλήτῃ, τελείως Θεὸν οὐκ ἐδόξασεν. διὰ γὰρ τῆς Τριάδος ταύτης Πατὴρ δοξάζεται. Πατὴρ γὰρ ἠθέλησεν, Υἱὸς ἐποίησεν, Πνεῦμα ἐφάνερωσεν.

² We suspect that this word *vids* should be πνεῦμα, from the mention of the Three divine Persons throughout the passage which follows, and from the work attributed to the Spirit agreeing with this. It must be remembered that there is only one MS. of the Tract against Noetus.

Again, in chapter 8¹—

‘But if he would learn how one God is proved, let him know that there is of Him one power; and so far forth as regards the power, there is one God; but as regards the *economy*, the manifestation is threefold.’

We shall now see more clearly the meaning of the word *οικονομία* in the fourth chapter, in which alone it could be taken for the Incarnation. Hippolytus is speaking of the indwelling of God in Christ,—that is, in the *Incarnate Word*. He explains it thus: ‘The Father is in the Word, and on the Word becoming man, He is thereby in Christ.’ So he meets the Noetian argument for the Father’s being incarnate, derived from the words, ‘God is in thee.’² ‘In whom is God, except in Christ ‘Jesus the Father’s Word, and (or according to) the mystery ‘of the *economy*.’ Of whom speaking again, He intimates His ‘condition after the flesh, saying, “I have raised thee up in ‘righteousness”’ (*i.e.* by the Resurrection). . . . And again, ‘To say, God is in thee, showed the mystery of the *economy*, ‘because when the Word was incarnate and had become man, ‘the Father was in the Son, and the Son in the Father, whilst ‘the Son was sojourning among men. This, then, was signified, ‘brethren, that it really is the mystery of the *economy* because ‘(or, that it is in the mystery of the *economy* that) this Word was ‘of the Holy Spirit and the Virgin, having made one Son unto ‘God.’ In the last words the *οικονομία* may, perhaps, mean the Incarnation. Indeed, it is probably so used elsewhere, both by Hippolytus and Tertullian; by Tertullian, adv. Praxeas, c. 23, perhaps: ‘Tamen in ipsa *οικονομία*, Pater voluit Filium in terris haberi, se vero in cœlis;’ and by Hippolytus, Hom. in Theoph. c. ii. p. 262 ed. Fabr., on the words, ‘What aileth thee, O thou ‘sea, that thou fleddest, and thou Jordan, that thou wast driven ‘back?’ applied to our Lord’s baptism, he says: ‘They reply, ‘We saw the Creator of all things in the form of a servant, and ‘not knowing the mystery of the *economy*, (*ἀγνοήσαντες τὸ ‘μυστήριον τῆς οἰκονομίας*,) we were driven back through fear.’ So in a passage in the Philosophumena, extracted from Irenæus, the word *οικονομία* is used in the sense which it commonly has

¹ Εἰ δὲ βούλεται μαθεῖν πῶς εἰς Θεὸς ἀποδείκνυται, γνωσκέτω ὅτι μία δύναμις τούτου, καὶ ὅσον μὲν κατὰ τὴν δύναμιν, εἰς ἔστι Θεός, ὅσον δὲ κατὰ τὴν οἰκονομίαν, τριχῆς (cor. τριχῶς) ἡ ἐπίδειξις.

² Ἐν σοὶ οὖν, φησὶν, ὁ Θεός ἐστιν. Ἐν τίνι δὲ ὁ Θεός ἀλλ’ ἢ ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ τῷ πατρὶ λόγῳ, καὶ τῷ μυστηρίῳ (for, κατὰ τὸ μυστήριον) τῆς οἰκονομίας. Περὶ οὗ πάλιν δεκνύν τὸ κατὰ σάρκα αὐτοῦ σημαίνει. Ἐγὼ ἡγεῖρα αὐτὸν μετὰ δικαιοσύνης. . . . Τὸ δὲ εἰπεῖν, ὅτι ἐν σοὶ ὁ Θεός ἐστιν, ἐδείκνυν μυστήριον (for, τὸ μ.) οἰκονομίας, ὅτι σεσαρκωμένον τοῦ λόγου καὶ ἐνανθρωπήσαντος ὁ Πατὴρ ἦν ἐν τῷ Υἱῷ, καὶ ὁ Υἱὸς ἐν τῷ Πατρὶ, ἐμπολιτενομένου τοῦ Υἱοῦ ἐν ἀνθρώποις. Τοῦτο οὖν ἐσημαίμετο, ἀδελφοί, ὅτι ὄντως μυστήριον (for, ἐν τῷ μυστηρίῳ) οἰκονομίας ἐκ Πνεύματος ἁγίου ἦν οὗτος ὁ λόγος καὶ παρθένου, ἐνα Υἱόν Θεῷ ἀπεργασάμενος.

in other writers, of the dispensation of grace through the Incarnation, 'The Saviour under the *economy* (ὁ ἐξ οἰκονομίας Σωτήρ);' and, 'Jesus is the name of the Man under the *economy* (τοῦ ἐκ τῆς οἰκονομίας ἀνθρώπου),' and adv. Judæos, he speaks of the Son praying to the Father οἰκονομικῶς. It would seem that it was in Rome, and in the refutation of the Noetians there, that the word acquired its prominence in this special reference to the Trinity.

Let us now revert to the passage translated by M. Bunsen, and conjecturally emended by him. The words, as he translates them, are,—'I do not speak of two Gods, but merely of one; 'only I establish two persons (πρόσωπα), and as the third, the 'Incarnation (οἰκονομίαν), the grace of the Holy Spirit.' He does not translate further, but the passage continues,—'For 'the Father is one, but there are two persons, because there is 'the Son also, and the third the Holy Spirit.' (In the first clause the grace of the Holy Spirit is used by a common metonymy for the Holy Spirit.) It is, perhaps, sufficient to cite the parallel words of Tertullian, (adv. Prax. c. 12:)—'Nay rather, because 'there was now with Him a *second Person*, the Son, His own 'Word; and a *third, the Spirit* in the Word, therefore He spake 'in the plural, *Let us make, and ours, and unto us.*' 'Imo, quia 'jam adhærebat illi Filius *secunda persona*, Sermo ipsius; et 'tertia Spiritus in Sermone, ideo pluraliter pronuntiavit, *faciamus, et nostram, et nobis.*' He is commenting on 'Let us make man in our image,' &c.

But as it is asserted in a citation made by M. Bunsen, vol. i. p. 297, out of Meier, that 'Hippolytus decidedly ascribes no 'personality to the Holy Spirit' (or, should Meier's words be translated, 'does not decidedly ascribe any'?); and, in the fourth volume, S. Hippolytus is made to speak at length on this subject; we will refer to other places, which illustrate the point so fully, as, we humbly submit, to leave no doubt whatever that S. Hippolytus held the personality of the Holy Spirit. We would have our readers keep in mind the words of S. Hippolytus, cited above, on the baptismal formula.

In the sixth chapter, in speaking of the Father subjecting all things to the Son, Hippolytus adds, 'except Himself'; but in the eighth he says,¹ 'One is constrained, then, even though 'he wish it not, to confess the Father God Almighty, and 'Christ Jesus, the Son of God, God made man, unto whom the 'Father hath subjected all things, *except Himself and the Holy*

¹ Ἀνάγκη οὖν ἔχει καὶ μὴ θέλων ὁμολογεῖν Πατέρα Θεὸν παντοκράτορα, καὶ Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν Υἱὸν Θεοῦ Θεὸν ἀνθρώπου γενόμενον, ᾧ πάντα Πατὴρ ὑπέταξε παρὲκ τῶς ἑαυτοῦ καὶ Πνεύματος ἁγίου, καὶ τούτους εἶναι οὕτως (legebat ὕτως Turrianus) τρία.

'Ghost; and that thus *these are Three*,' or, adopting a more probable reading, 'that these are really Three.'

Meier's observation that Hippolytus was called a Ditheist, not a Tritheist, is scarcely worthy of notice; the question of the Son and His distinct personality was the only subject then in controversy. Tertullian shows that the orthodox were charged with being Tritheists, and preached 'duos et tres (Deos).'

And, as we have said before, S. Hippolytus concludes his work by ascribing glory to the Son, 'together with the Father and the Holy Spirit.' These things seem to us plainly to indicate a belief in the personality of the Holy Spirit; and so they did to Dorner, who lays down absolutely that Hippolytus held the personality of the Three, in opposition to Hænell (i. 611, 612), who had argued that Hippolytus's view was Sabellian; the very doctrine which he most earnestly opposed.

Indeed, we conceive that M. Bunsen has made a very unfair use of Dorner's name. He speaks as if he had read his book; we hope that he had not, and that he was not aware that Dorner had explained the *οικονομία* of the Trinity, and distinctly maintained that Hippolytus held the Three Persons. Yet M. Bunsen talks quite naturally, at vol. i. p. 176, of 'going patiently 'along with men like Neander and Dorner, through all the 'darkness and darkening ages, from the fourth to the seventh 'century.' At p. 43 he calls Dorner's 'a marvellous work.' At pp. 293, 294, he cites a long passage from him (vol. i. p. 693). At p. 262, on the genuineness of the fragments against Beron, he says Dorner's refutation (pp. 536—548) of Hænell is so complete, that it seems unnecessary to say here a word about it. He says, p. 260,—'Dorner is the only one of our critical school 'who has done justice to Hippolytus generally, and in particular 'to this homily, and to the book we shall next have to speak 'of. And I believe the greatest triumph of Dorner's criticism 'on the Noetian heresy and on our homily to be, that it has 'anticipated the clearer and more scientific exposition of the 'doctrines of Hippolytus, which has now come to light with our 'work. There is nothing essential to be added from this to the 'picture he has drawn from his incomplete materials.' Yet, we believe, the most charitable supposition we can frame, as well as the truest, is, that M. Bunsen had never read that part of Dorner's work in which he treats of the Tract against Noetus, pp. 609, &c.; because, if he had read it, he could not have been ignorant of the meaning of the expressions of which we have spoken, or of the views of Hippolytus; nor again would he, we trust, have suppressed the fact that Dorner does not agree with him, in holding that Hippolytus denied the personality of the Holy Ghost. We cannot but suspect that M. Bunsen's

information is gained from conversation, or notices in Reviews, or other imperfect sources.

But we are sorry to observe the carelessness with which Dörner is translated: M. Bunsen cites a passage from him in English, vol. i. p. 291, which contains several mistranslations. Whatever became of Patristic Greek, we should certainly have expected that modern German, specially that of so great an ornament of the 'historical and critical school,' would have been translated correctly. We willingly make allowance for misprints, if any there be, or for a want of familiarity with the English language, though the terms occur so frequently in the work before us, and are of so great critical importance, that we cannot suppose the mistakes are to be accounted for in this way. We desire it to be observed that these mistakes seem to indicate an intense ignorance of common theological words and opinions, so gross as to be almost incredible.

At p. 293 we read, as cited from Dörner, 'the distinct hypostasis (*personification*) of the Logos would not be firmly established, as God himself is Reason (Logos).' The word 'personification' is inserted by M. Bunsen, to explain the word *hypostasis*, but surely he ought to have known that *ὑπόστασις* is a theological term of most common use in antiquity, and means 'person' or 'personality.' The notion of the *personification* of the Logos, or the Logos becoming or being represented as a person, may be entertained by M. Bunsen—but it ought not carelessly to be attributed to Dörner. He obviously meant the distinct *personality* of the Logos.

A few lines after we read, 'the ἀρχὴ of S. John (*in which the Logos was μονογενής, or the Son*).' The words 'die ἀρχὴ bei Johannes (in der der Δόγος, d. h. μονογενής oder Sohn war),' ought to be translated, 'the ἀρχὴ of S. John (*in which was the Logos, i. e. the μονογενής, or the Son*).' Dörner added the words in the parenthesis, to remind us that the ἀρχὴ of which Origen was speaking, was that of which S. John says, ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν ὁ Δόγος, that beginning of which it was said, 'In the beginning was the Word.'

In p. 395 we read, 'By his (*i. e. Hippolytus*)' determinism 'the world, and even the humanity of Christ, were divested of 'personality.' We do not know whether M. Bunsen holds that the world was possessed of personality, of which Hippolytus divested it; he does hold that the humanity of Christ was possessed of personality, therein being heretical. But Dörner never said this, which is indeed mere nonsense. The words translated 'were divested of personality,' are, 'selbstlos wird,' which would be expressed in English, we presume, by 'were deprived of substantive existence.'

M. Bunsen is not sparing of the faults of others; he scatters sneers and criticisms freely on every side. He decides between opposing views, and comments on the omissions and oversights and mistakes of others. We shall not refer to these, excepting in one instance, that of Bishop Bull. M. Bunsen has the following words:—

‘I hope I may say so’ (*i. e.* that no one can understand the first three verses of S. John,) ‘without being at home in speculative subjects, without any disrespect to that truly learned and acute divine, Bishop Bull; but certainly he was *no speculative philosopher*, nor is his method a truly historical one. He *often makes assertions also which have no foundation*: as, for instance, that Hippolytus was a disciple of Clement of Alexandria. Bull asserts that all ancient authors say so, whereas nobody says so. Bossuet has praised and thanked him for his book: I think he would not have done so, had Bishop Bull adopted a truly historical and philosophical method.’—Vol. i. p. 263.

This is a very easy and summary mode of satisfying oneself about an author's merits: a ‘truly historical and philosophical’ method indeed! It would have been better to have seen what Bull's method really was. ‘Bossuet praised his book.’ It so happens that the book which Bossuet praised was not *the* book of Bishop Bull, the ‘Defence of the Nicene Creed,’ but the work called the ‘Judgment of the Catholic Church.’ This, however, is a slight matter. As to ‘the historical method,’ however, which, in M. Bunsen's sense, is ‘interpreting every passage in connexion with the whole range of the author's ideas, and every writer as a portion of his age, to be understood from the language and ideas of his time,’—this is a very common-sense method, if *fairly* and *thoroughly* carried out. But Bishop Bull's object was not to investigate all about the Fathers' views, but to show thus much, that they certainly testified to the Nicene faith; but that being the design of his work, let us hear his own account of his method. He says,—and his words may be a useful lesson for his censor: (we cite the preface to the *Defensio*):—

‘One thing I may venture most solemnly to declare, that in the whole course of this work I have observed the utmost good faith. Not a passage have I adduced, from which, after a careful examination both of the passage itself and its context, I did not think really made for the cause which we are maintaining; not a passage have I garbled, but put before you all entire.’

And again of passages adduced in support of Arianism:—

‘I have not knowingly or designedly kept back any; I have endeavoured, by observing the drift and purpose of each author, and by adducing other clearer statements from their several writings, to establish on solid grounds that they not only admit, but actually require, to be understood in a catholic sense.’

Bishop Bull's work had merits which the present specimen of

'the German method' has not. But Bull committed one grievous offence, which is really unpardonable in any writer; 'he *often* made assertions which have no foundation!' If that forfeits a writer's claim to be esteemed, M. Bunsen must take the consequence;

— In nos legem sancimus iniquam.

We fear he has himself committed that very fault in writing this sentence: he says, 'he *often* made assertions which have no foundation;' he alleges *one* instance; and observe, the instance is of an assertion which is of no sort of consequence to Bull's argument. Bishop Bull did not make 'an assertion which had no foundation' with any sinister view, for example, to prove a point which he could not establish otherwise; nor did he make it, *knowing* that it had no foundation. He made the statement on the authority of the common books of reference in his day; as Baronius, Bellarmine on Ecclesiastical Writers, and Labbé's notes on it, the notes on Jerome in Miræus; which all assert that Hippolytus was a disciple of Clement of Alexandria.

We have necessarily omitted very many points in M. Bunsen's work which seem to us to call for the most severe censures. The Inspiration, the dates and genuineness and readings of the books of Holy Scripture, the Sacraments, and the opinions of the early Church respecting these subjects, are treated in a way which, notwithstanding the author's protest, appears to us inconsiderate, unfair, and contrary to the Truth.

We only add one instance of M. Bunsen's ludicrous precipitancy, and the eager way in which he seizes on everything which he thinks in any way likely to support his speculations. We let our author speak for himself. He is citing Photius's account of the work 'On the Universe.'

"According to his (*i. e.* Hippolytus) opinion, *man consists of fire and earth and water*, and besides, of *the spirit* (πνεῦμα), which he also calls soul (ψυχή). As to the spirit, these are his own words:—

"Taking of this (the spirit) the principal part, He (God) formed it together with the body, and prepared for it a passage through every limb and joint. Now this spirit, plastically connected with the body, and all-pervading, is fashioned (τετυπωται) in the same shape (εἶδει) as the visible body; but its essence is rather cold in comparison with the three of which the body consists."—You here see' (adds M. Bunsen) 'the exact and literal doctrine of the four elements, of which the Spirit is one, carried out speculatively, in the form of a *Christian physical philosophy*.'

We do not know what Archdeacon Hare saw: for our own part, we see nothing but the four elements, and a common notion of those days, that our souls were made of air; 'air' being the primary meaning of πνεῦμα. No one who ever read it can forget the exquisite description of this view in the Tusculan

Questions. What this 'Christian physical philosophy' is, which makes our souls of *the* spirit, we know not; we suppose it is the philosophy of M. Bunsen, of which we have given a specimen above, p. 238, note, which he was delighted to recognise in this venerable Father. But we look on to M. Bunsen's pages 155 and 156, and there we find Hippolytus, in the *Philosophumena* as translated by M. Bunsen, enumerating these very four elements, and saying, 'The sun, moon, and stars, I conceive, are of fire and *spirit*.' What becomes of this 'Christian physical philosophy' now; and what weight can M. Bunsen expect any of his researches to have, when he puts off such folly as this upon his readers? or does he really believe that this is an evidence of his own theory, that 'mind is conscious nature, and nature unconscious mind?'¹ or are the heavenly bodies really animated and possessed of souls? We suspect he felt that he was wrong, for though there is no article before πνεῦμα in the passage cited from Photius, yet M. Bunsen translates it, *the* spirit; (*spiritus* is the word in the Latin version;) whereas in the second passage, where he still translates πνεῦμα 'spirit,' instead of 'air,' he no longer says '*the* spirit.' But one who speaks with so great an appearance of knowledge of the philosophy of the ancients, Greek and Christian, ought to have remembered that the 'Divine part' of the soul, which he would make to be 'the spirit,' would be called νοῦς, and that the ψυχή, which Hippolytus is speaking of, is the vital principle, or the 'animal soul.'

We have no wish to force a parallel, nor are we skilful in framing a scheme of opinions from a few slight indications; but, so far as we can see, the opinions which M. Bunsen holds, appear to be very like those attributed by Hippolytus to Callistus.² We do not refer merely to their obscurity, though Hippolytus brings the whole of the Noetian school under the description of the Heraclitean philosophy, as 'dark' and 'obscure,' and (to all appearance) self-contradictory, and as 'bringing Heraclitean darkness on all who followed them.' We do not, however, dwell on this point of resemblance.

Nor yet, again, do we say that our author is πανούργος or ποικίλος τὴν πλάνην, 'crafty and chameleon-like in leading people wrong;' nor yet that, like Callistus, he raises controversies which excite divisions amongst men, and yet speaks so fairly to each party by themselves, that they are persuaded his views really agree with their own; though Callistus would have found his work very much facilitated by the principles on which 'any 'Protestant Christian . . . can feel himself in perfect communion

¹ Vol. iv. 58.

² See the *Philosophumena*, book ix.

'with the Churches of the East and West, and see the working of 'the Spirit in the scholastic, and even in Tridentine, definitions.' In one point, however, they do agree—in misrepresenting those whom they cannot cajole into sanctioning them, and 'pouring on them the venom that is cherished within them,' ἐξερῶν παρὰ βίαν τὸν ἐνδομυχοῦντα αὐτῷ ἰόν. Just as Callistus represented Hippolytus as a Ditheist, so does this present writer represent Catholic believers as holding the Three Persons of the ever-blessed Trinity to be 'three historical personages.'² Callistus, however, was very anxious to purge himself from the suspicion of heresy; he was afraid of the honest and straightforward Bishop of Portus; so he protested he did not agree with Sabellius, and endeavoured to assume the language of orthodoxy. He might, perhaps, say that he held 'the doctrine of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost to be the fundamental doctrine of Christianity,'³ and the like. Hippolytus, however, says that he combined the heresies of Theodotus and Sabellius; sometimes falling into the doctrine of the one, sometimes into that of the other. He said, for instance, that 'that which is seen,' the man, the 'historical Christ,' is the Son. He seems to have shrunk from saying that the Father himself was incarnate, but the Spirit; which was clothed with flesh, 'embodied,' so to say, 'in' Jesus of Nazareth; and that the Logos was both Son and Father, *i. e.* (we may suppose), as if one said that the Logos, or self-consciousness of God, was, in one sense, the Father himself; in another view, the objective manifestation of Him; and that this, by being embodied in the 'historical Christ,' in Him became the Son. This we see clearly, that the views of our author, so far as they mean anything, do, like those of Callistus, fall into the heresy of Theodotus—for it is plain that his 'historical Christ' is in himself a mere man; and into that of Sabellius, by denying any plurality of Persons in the Godhead, avoiding the assertion that the Father was incarnate, or that Christ was a mere man, by representing some unintelligible mode, or operation, or image of the Father, to be 'embodied in the historical Christ.' And it is to sanction this resuscitation of that very heresy which he so resolutely withstood and carefully exposed, that Hippolytus has been dragged out by M. Bunsen—dragged out and exposed to a martyrdom more revolting to his own spirit than that wherein his body was mangled.

One thing yet remains. How is this mystery to be explained? the mystery, for so it is, of such a man as M. Bunsen, so gifted, so generous as he is said to be, seeming to disregard the common rules of faithfulness and candour—whilst yet he appears

¹ Vol. i. p. 175. ² Vol. iv. p. 50. ³ Vol. i. p. 303. ⁴ Vol. i. pp. 167, 303.

full of high and noble sentiments, professing with all apparent sincerity a conscientious desire to know and to say what is true, and to forward above all other things the interests of truth among mankind.

It is, if we may presume to judge from the phenomena before us, that he is so strongly and deeply possessed with certain speculative theories, that he can see objects only in their light. That even in common matters he is thus the slave of an idea, is evident from the examination we have made of his views and arguments about the book which Photius read, views which are simply groundless and utterly opposed to facts. Once thus possessed with a view, it seems to him absolutely certain; the facts that contradict it, stubborn as they are, bend like the grass before him, or vanish from his sight. He seems to labour under an *ἀσπαρία*, or *σκότωμα*, as the ancients called it, and to be blinded alike to the laws of evidence and the existence of facts. He even creates facts by the strength of imagination. The delusion is like that which has been noticed of old, in the union of enthusiasm and unconscious deceit. Love of system, M. Bunsen himself observes, leads men to misinterpret facts. The wish to make it appear that all the Fathers generally speak one doctrine, and mean the same thing,—though they themselves thought they did, as did also the age that followed them,—is, in M. Bunsen's view, quite sufficient to prevent men from attaining truth. Is not the intense persuasion that some theory of our own is true, and an earnest wish to impress that same view on others, calculated to produce the same effect? Is not this quite as inconsistent as the former, with the calm and equable state of mind, which alone can do justice to the work of balancing evidence—with the use of that experimental method, which is the great instrument of attaining truth in the history of the past, as much as in the facts of nature? It is, indeed, curious to see how controversialists of different schools and different ages have put a force upon the facts of antiquity; but no Roman controversialist, no 'obscurantist' of modern times, has ever been guilty of much more unfair handling of documents, or tampering with evidence, than the writer of the '*Age of Hippolytus*.'

If we are to believe M. Bunsen to be at all what his high and noble sentiments would lead us to suppose him, we must imagine that he is labouring under a delusion like that which they say has made devoted enthusiasts, whether consciously or not, feign miracles and disbelieve what they might see. There must be a S. Philumenism in liberalism, and a superstition even in philosophy, to account for the facts before us.

Indeed, no little light is thrown on the subject by M. Bunsen's

own statement. He talks, in a passage to which we have often referred, of our not 'grounding our convictions 'upon this or 'that passage which may be controverted, but upon the undeniable existence of a general consciousness of the ancient 'Church.'¹ Here we seem to have a key to the whole matter. M. Bunsen is possessed with the notion of 'the undeniable existence of a general consciousness of the ancient Church,' corresponding to his own view: its records are but as a mirror to him, in which he sees himself reflected. This or that passage, therefore, is of no consequence. We have the early working of this same mental temperament in his letter to Dr. Nott on the 'Christian Sacrifice.' The facts all go in one way—the particular passages are all against him. But M. Bunsen was not willing to submit to the facts and to accept the truth which they taught. He was possessed with an idea, and he saw that idea embodied in a creation of his own mind, which he called 'a general consciousness of the ancient Church.' Unfortunately that general consciousness did not find expression in any one of the ancient forms of prayer—which were indeed the embodying, if anything could be, of that consciousness—except very partially in one Ethiopian Liturgy.

There are other instances of the like possession. Such was the antiquarian of the last age. He was the slave of his own ideas. He discerned the traces of a Roman camp in an old earthwork, and reconstructed history, by deciphering a Latin inscription out of a mouldering milestone. He misconstrued texts, and imagined emendations, because he was quite sure that his theory was true, and that the author must have written accordingly. Such an one sees sights we cannot see, and is all the more certain that he is right the more deeply he has drawn from his imagination; for that imagination has seen connexions which become, so to say, part of himself. To him trifles light as air are confirmations strong as Holy Writ. And he entertains no doubt whatever of his own sincerity or fairness. He is impelled to put out his views and the arguments which seem to him so convincing, from a belief that he has seen a vision of truth, which the rest of the world cannot discern; the same blindness making him meanwhile utterly unconscious of his own mental state.

We can in no other way account for the phenomenon before us. For the most remarkable circumstance is, that M. Bunsen himself seems perfectly unconscious of his own faults. He writes with the seeming sincerity and honesty of a man who is all truth and all conscientiousness. He pleads against any misapprehension on this ground: and, as if conscious of his integrity, and anticipating misrepresentation, he says:—

¹ Vol. i. Pref. p. ix.

'No just and intelligent critic will have to blame me for the want of a conscientious wish to be historically true, and perfectly impartial.'—Vol. i. Pref. p. xiv.

And again, in discussing those heresies, where he seemed so blind to opposing facts, he says :—

'I do not see how I can go through this argument *conscientiously*, without a complete enumeration of the thirty-two articles in question.'—Vol. i. p. 31.

Again :—

'I have not written and published my Ignatian researches, any more than others, in order to produce an effect upon this or that person; but to satisfy my own mind, by expressing a *conscientious conviction* on a point on which I thought I had something to say.'—Vol. i. p. 60, note.

Lastly, with a tone that pervades his whole book, and reminds us of the sanctimoniousness of other classes of men similarly possessed :—

'Let no one search unless he be prepared to take the high ground of Christian life and liberty, and to apply *historical criticism* to the facts, and independent speculation to the ideas of Christianity. *But above all let him be honest and true.* Whoever will make a bargain with his reason and conscience will braid and twist them, and lose all power of conviction and faith.'

We can with this case before us believe the most incredible of all inconsistencies,—the union of the highest sentiment, with actions the very reverse. Indeed, the very profuseness and exaggeration of M. Bunsen's professions and high sentiments makes their reality suspicious.

Of those who are opposed to him, he says :—

'Their mode of conducting controversies would not be tolerated for a moment in the field of classical literature, where men like Porson and Gaisford, Niebuhr and Hermann, Boeckh and Ritschl rule,—where nothing is at stake except that of which Pilate doubted the existence, and where it is considered as unbecoming to seek truth, not as a judge, in order to find it, but as an advocate in order to betray it.'—Vol. iv. Pref. p. v.

He imagines himself to be a model of historical truth, and those who differ from him are either 'barbarians or obscurantists by profession,' and all that they have written 'for the last 250 years is chaff.' Lost in the persuasion of the truth of his theories, he expects to overturn the whole of the received views of what is matter of historical fact; and appearing highly to estimate what he has done, and wishing, heartily and sincerely, we doubt not, that the honour should redound to Fatherland, and desirous, through this specimen of his own, to recommend the theology, and 'the critical and historical method' of his countrymen, to the English mind, he says :—

'If I have not entirely failed in my efforts to elicit truth out of the records of thought, and out of the annals of history, which are now opened to us for the first time, I owe it to the resources of thought and learning which I have found in the standard works of modern German divinity and

philology, and which I have endeavoured to apply to this subject. Deeply impressed as I am with my unworthiness to represent either, I still trust to have, by this process, and by the very important contents of the newly discovered book, *sufficiently shown the real nature and the superiority of the German method of inquiry, and the satisfactory results already obtained.*—Pref. vol. i. pp. xvi. xvii.

And he speaks of 'the proofs he has given of what has been achieved already in this respect, by the critical and historical school of Germany.' We are not disposed to depreciate what that school has done in its own province; but we can also see its defects. Of one thing, however, we are certain, that M. Bunsen's work cannot hold a place amongst those which have done credit to his country; and, we apprehend, the scholars of Germany will duly appreciate the compliment which is paid them in having the 'Age of Hippolytus' put forward as a favourable specimen of their theological and critical school.

As for the work of Hippolytus, we trust that our own countrymen will not imitate the over-speed of the Chevalier Bunsen. We hope, also, that English writers will show in this important discussion, as they ever have shown and are showing, true scholarship and critical discrimination, soundness, as well as acuteness, and caution, if not brilliancy; above all, candour and honesty.

Those who may wish to follow up the great doctrinal questions which M. Bunsen has opened, will find abundant matter in Waterland and Bull, particularly in the *Defensio Fidei Nicænæ*, in which copious extracts are given from the Fathers, which are preserved in the original language in the recent English translation;—the works of Bishop Kaye, on Justin Martyr, Clement of Alexandria and Tertullian, and in the Testimonies and Lectures of Dr. Burton. They will find in these works judicious and sound criticism, and in all ample citations from the authors, and fair representations of their opinions.

NOTICES.

THE Reverend Edward John Shepherd, A.M., Rector of Luddesdown, has favoured us with an 8vo. of 540 pp. which he is pleased to entitle 'A History of the Church of Rome to the end of the Episcopate of Damasus,' (Longman.) To this he has also added a Letter of 43 pages to Dr. Maitland, on 'The Genuineness of the Writings ascribed to Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage,' the first instalment of a series which he is so good as to promise us on the subject.

Mr. Shepherd evidently considers himself born to regenerate the whole of Primitive Church History. His theory—very simple and easily enunciated—is that almost all the writings, historical and doctrinal alike, of the early Church are forgeries; and he thinks that a host of persons have been at the trouble and expense at different times, of interpolating genuine works and concocting others—in the different forms of Acts and Canons of Councils, histories, and dogmatic treatises—in order to support the doctrine of the supremacy of the Bishop of Rome. Who these forgers were, or when they lived, he does not tell us; and indeed he confesses at the outset that he does not see his way clearly on the point, but he believes that they succeeded in suppressing all or greater part of the genuine documents of previous times, (if, indeed, there ever had been such, or, in fact, any person at all to write or be written about,) and in bribing or deluding the transcribers of every country into copying, and their readers into receiving, their spurious compositions for the authentic works of authors—who never existed; and he conceives that it is left for himself to point out to an admiring generation which of all the mass of professedly patristic writings, acts of councils, and the like, may be received as genuine, and which are to be rejected, either as having been interpolated or as being altogether spurious. Thus he doubts Eusebius' account of S. Dionysius of Corinth and his letter to the Church of Rome, (History, Book iv. chap. 23.) He doubts the letter of the Church of Lyons to Eleutherus, Bishop of Rome, about Irenæus, then a Presbyter, given by Eusebius, (v. 4.) and referred to by S. Jerome in his Book of Ecclesiastical Writers. He doubts Victor's attempt to excommunicate the Churches of Asia Minor, making more of it than it deserves, (Euseb. v. 24.) He doubts the letter of Cornelius, Bishop of Rome, to Fabius of Antioch, (Euseb. vi. 43.) He doubts not only the writings but the very existence of S. Cyprian. He doubts the account of the letter of Dionysius of Alexandria to Dionysius of Rome, as given by S. Athanasius. He doubts Constantine's letter to Chrestus, and rejects the Council of Arles, but forgets to tell us how a forger could advance the claims of Rome by inventing a Council summoned by an Emperor, and at which a Bishop of Arles sat as president, after the Bishop of Rome had endeavoured in vain to decide the cause; and he gives no indication as to what forger, at all near those times, was likely so much as to have heard of the doctrine of the Romish supremacy, properly so called, and thus falls into the common but palpable contradiction of supposing certain persons to have been labouring for a particular doctrine, which,

however, he is compelled to admit, was one as yet unknown. He doubts about Constantine's vision of the Cross, and Eusebius' life of that Emperor, with that of Martin of Tours, by Sulpicius Severus. He rejects the historical treatises of S. Athanasius, and his Apology against the Arians. At page 59, he has no doubts as to what S. Athanasius himself really was, as he speaks of him as Bishop of Alexandria; but at page 72 he has fallen into a doubt about this also, as he there terms him 'Bishop or Presbyter of Alexandria.' At page 75, note, he declares at once that the letter of Arius to Eusebius of Nicomedia, given by Theodoret in his History, Book I. chap. v., is spurious, but gives no reason for that decision beyond the general one, that that whole work is the composition of a Roman forger! Mr. Shepherd's readers, however, must not always look for the reasons of his doubts, but must take such as he pleases to give, and be thankful. He rejects the histories of Socrates and Sozomen. He doubts about Hosius, Liberius, Meletius, and Lucifer. He rejects the Council of Sardica, and doubts those of Alexandria under S. Athanasius, A.D. 362, and of Rome under Damasus, 376-7. He receives Damasus himself, indeed, but only, as it appears, because he is mentioned by Ammianus Marcellinus, and in terms of condemnation. He doubts the well-known edict of Theodosius, Cod. Theod. xvi. tom. i. l. 2. In a word, with him as with another well-known destructive,

'Function

Is smother'd in surmise, and nothing is
But what is not.'

We cannot compliment Mr. Shepherd on his respect for antiquity or on his bibliographical accuracy, both surely qualifications in some degree necessary for a Church historian. At page 66, note, he compares the Bishop of Rome to a scavenger; for which one dreads that some zealous member of that Church may inflict on him the same punishment as the Prince did on Falstaff for likening his father to a singing-man of Windsor; and at page 214, he speaks of 'S. Basil's able and learned editor Maran!'—a post-diluvian Methuselah, whom he must suppose, if he thinks at all, to have enjoyed upwards of two centuries of existence, and to have edited as many works as the countryman thought that *tempus fugit* had made clocks. Mistakes like these are in themselves little or nothing, but when accompanied with a great pretence and display of learning, and a tone of overwhelming superiority to all the rest of the world, they become positive offences, and deserve no mercy. We recommend him before he publishes another volume of his 'History,' to look into Mosheim, or Alban Butler, or any other historian of that profound class, for an account of S. Maur and his congregation, by which means he may discover the real meaning of the word Maranus.

Mr. Shepherd has not disproved the existence of S. Cyprian half as completely as Archbishop Whately has done that of Bonaparte. His letter on the subject resembles the portion allotted to the same question in his book, except that the former contains fewer facts than the latter, and is more diffuse and less logical. Having stated in his History that S. Cyprian 'is probably an imaginary personage,' p. 126, (to have proved which would have rendered, we should have thought, any after-discussion as to the

authenticity of his works wholly unnecessary,) he proceeds, singularly enough, to inquire in his letter whether this idolon of a bishop did or did not write the letters ascribed to him; and he decides that he did not for the somewhat subordinate reasons following. Firstly, because having no letters worth mentioning between the Churches of Rome and Carthage before and after his time, we therefore can have none during it. Secondly, because the tone of address in these pseudo-Cyprianic letters is too familiar to have been real; and, thirdly, that messages are sent in them to persons of such common and every-day names, that among the thousands so called in Rome and Carthage, it would have been impossible for the recipients to know who were the individuals intended.

S. Cyprian either lived or did not live. If he did not live, that fact is certainly a very good reason against any letters which bear his name being genuine, but it must be clearly established first; and the first thing Mr. Shepherd had to do was to make up his mind decidedly and once for all, as to which of these two alternatives he intended to accept. If, as appears to be the case, the concurrent testimony of antiquity goes with him for nothing in comparison with his own abstract reasoning, and he rejects the Bishop from the list of living men, it was quite unnecessary for him to proceed to any further question about his works, and there was no room for his letters after his history; but, like most other root and branch innovators, he mistrusts his own theory when it comes to the test, and makes a somewhat painful exhibition of himself as a logician, in treating the Bishop at one time as a person who never existed, and discussing the question at another as to whether he did or did not write any portion of the works ascribed to him, until the reader becomes as bewildered—not as to whether S. Cyprian did live and write or not, for Mr. Shepherd has produced nothing at all calculated to disprove either of these facts—but as to what his real opinion of the matter may be, as he is apparently himself. As to what Mr. Shepherd urges, that there was no continuous correspondence between Rome and Carthage before and after S. Cyprian, we admit the fact; but what, we would ask, does it prove in relation to S. Cyprian himself or his letters? And who so ready as Mr. Shepherd to have fallen into doubts, and cried out ‘forgery’ or ‘interpolation,’ had there been either a succession of letters between the Churches when they had no question to discuss, or silence when they had? As it is when the need of intercommunication begins to exist, and not before, we find a correspondence spring up between the places and persons concerned, and which again ceases on the questions at issue being laid at rest. It is also open to an inquirer to ask when a correspondence may begin and end between individuals or corporate bodies, without afterwards involving a question as to its genuineness? And does not Mr. Shepherd see that the question is not whether there were hundreds or thousands of Calphurnii, Uranii, Alexii, and the like, in Rome or Carthage, but whether out of these there were not some Christians so situated as that the correspondent addressed would know them to be the persons alluded to by the writer. Besides, how many thousand Phœbes, Maries, Urbani, and Aristobuli, were there in Rome when S. Paul wrote his epistle to that city? We would put it seriously to Mr. Shepherd that unexplained facts are to be looked for in all histories,

and that if for this reason he rejects the letters of S. Cyprian, he cannot logically and with consistency receive those of S. Paul. His position, in fact, is this—that because the persons addressed by S. Cyprian's correspondents happen to bear familiar names, therefore the letters are not genuine but the work of a forger: how this conclusion follows from the premises we leave Mr. Shepherd to decide.

As to the appeal of S. Cyprian to Rome, in preference to any other see, there needs no such doctrine as the modern one of the supremacy of Rome to account for it. Carthage was the metropolitical see. S. Cyprian could not be plaintiff, defendant, and judge in his own cause, nor could he accept the decision of any Bishop of inferior dignity to himself. Rome was but a few days' sail distant, Alexandria was far off, and Antioch still further, to say nothing of the fact that the history of the case proves that it was necessary to make appeal to the secular as well as the ecclesiastical power, and this alone would have carried the appellant to Rome as its seat.

Mr. Shepherd, throughout both his History and Letter, commits the fundamental mistake of arguing from the assumed *relative* state of the Churches to the letters, whereas of the former we know nothing, whilst the latter certainly come to us with, on the whole, a *prima facie* evidence of genuineness. If either were to be done, he should rather have reversed the process, and concluded from the letters to the state of the Churches, and not from the state of the Churches to the letters, lest he prove to be concluding from nothing to something. In a word, if S. Cyprian wrote any letters at all, he wrote these, or some of them; and if he wrote even one, then, however different the state of the two Churches relatively might have been from what Mr. Shepherd would have expected, all that is proved is, not that the letters are forgeries, but that his expectations are worth nothing. And is it a very extraordinary circumstance, that a warmth of feeling should have arisen between two neighbouring Churches in the time of persecution, and when many martyrs and confessors of each were known to each other personally, and that it should have changed with the changing circumstances? Or were the grandsons and great-grandsons of these correspondents compelled to write to each other for no other reason than that their grandfathers and great-grandfathers had written to each other a century before? S. Cyprian is mentioned both as having lived and written by Eusebius in his History, Book VI. chap. xliii., and by S. Jerome, in his translation of Eusebius' Chronicle, in his book of Ecclesiastical Writers, and in his piece against the Luciferians; but Mr. Shepherd's keen eye detects the whole to be forgeries or interpolations for the express purpose of introducing his name: the first, because Eusebius always affixes to his mention of a Bishop the name of his see, but in the present instance he speaks merely of 'Cyprian and the Bishops who were with him in Africa,' and the others for reasons equally grave and conclusive. But he forgets to tell us how S. Augustine, who was his countryman, and flourished only a century and a half after him, and lived so long in Carthage, and made such continual use of his writings, could have been deceived into believing his existence, had he really been 'an imaginary personage,' and his works a mere tissue of forgeries. We contend that this one testimony to his truth is worth so very much more than any abstract reasoning which Mr. Shepherd can construct against it, that, in fact, it renders his pages mere waste paper.

And if the subject be thought to deserve another word, we would say, in conclusion, that when the voice of antiquity is so uniform and so clear, where such a host of moderns, no less diligent and acute than Mr. Shepherd, have seen no occasion, from the facts which they had in common with himself, to raise any of his sagacious doubts,—and not least of all, where such learned writers as Pearson and Dodwell, to say nothing of Bishop Sage's 'Cyprianic Age,' have given us such minute and valuable accounts of the life and acts of S. Cyprian, as are to be found in the 'Annales Cyprianici' of the former, and the 'Dissertationes' of the latter, (with which Mr. Shepherd is either unacquainted, or he deems it beneath him to notice them,) we do not expect that any real light will be, thrown on the question by that gentleman.

In the Fine Arts department we may mention two or three productions, the knowledge of which may be useful in the selection of Christmas presents:—1. A very religious print, by E. V. B.—we are violating, we believe, no confidence in naming the Hon. Mrs. Boyle—'A Christian Funeral,' correctly drawn, and recalling the better characteristics of the German school. 2. Mr. H. Barraud's companion to his famous and popular print of the 'Choristers.' We have here another group of Choristers equally effective, and we think likely to be equally successful with its predecessor. Not the least value of it consists in its use in superseding a sentimental group of three unsatisfactory Charity Girls, which was accustomed to do duty as the *pendant* to the 'Choristers;' and, 3. (published at Munich,) 'Abbildungen der Glasgemalde,' &c. (Copies of the Glass Paintings in Christ Church, Kilndown). This church is famous, as most of our readers know, for its valuable windows, executed at the cost of Mr. Beresford Hope, at the Royal Munich Manufactory. We do not refer to them as the best style of glass painting, or that they fulfil all the requisites of this peculiar branch of art: but the capacities of glass painting cannot be understood without studying the Munich development. The drawing is artistic, correct and beautiful—too much so, perhaps, for the conditions of the art; the tinctures are somewhat weak—but the diapers and jewellery, by the use perhaps of certain chemicals, are exceedingly elaborate and beautiful. An odd mistake occurs in the lettering. S. Augustus is of course S. Augustine of Canterbury. Why S. Augustine (Doctor), a Bishop, should have the pallium, and why S. David, Archbishop, should have it not, we are not aware. The subjects are single figures canopied; the tracery is of course Teutonic and flamboyant; and the windows, broad lancets, gave unusual opportunities to breadth of design. The engravings are exceedingly good, and the colouring rich, and we should be glad to see equally handsome volumes of home production.

Dr. Hook's 'Church Dictionary,' (Murray,) has appeared in an enlarged and handsome volume. It now bears the look—as it always had the substance—of a creditable and compendious book of reference.

It is almost unnecessary to do more than put on record the Bishop of Exeter's 'Letter to the Dean of Exeter on Confession and Absolution' (Murray.) The Dean, with the terrors of an Exeter populace before him, took or made the opportunity of talking and subsequently publishing some clap-trap, which would have been much more suitable to Exeter Hall

than to Exeter Cathedral. The Bishop, without going out of his way, makes use of this Sermon as a formal and full exposition of his sentiments on this misrepresented question, at the same time administering to Mr. Law a lesson which, we regret to say, he stands in great need of. In polish, completeness, and logical sequence, we do not remember any publication, even of the Bishop of Exeter, which will take higher polemical rank.

Mr. Kerchever Arnold's admirable series of School-Books, (Rivingtons,) is going on satisfactorily. Some *Eclogæ Aristophanicæ*—a Tacitus—and a Virgil are among the last instalments. The notes are just what notes should be: terse, suggestive, compact hints—the completest and pleasantest contrast to the old German style of uncritical gabble.

In Mr. Kingsley's brief but piquant pamphlet, 'Phaethon,' (Macmillan,) we find more to admire and less to censure than in any of his previous writings. His style is certainly very telling; and on such a subject his wit is eminently in place. The brochure is much to be recommended.

From Messrs. Mozley we acknowledge the second complete volume of that most useful and varied work, 'Stories and Catechisms on the Collects,' by Mr. Jackson. And in the cloud of rival and unnecessary magazines for Churchmen and Church purposes, we can still commend the 'Magazine for the Young,' as generally superior to its competitors.—We desire, at whatever sacrifice of critical dignity, to recommend 'The Conceited Pig' to 'Parents and Guardians,' who at this season may be inflicted with holiday importations of incipient self-esteem from our seminaries of fame and name. On its first appearance we hailed the Pig with entire sympathy as a most amusing and witty story. It now appears 'illustrated,' and standing on its own merits, which are quite sufficient to secure general acceptance.

Ken's 'Approach to the Altar,' and 'Ken on the Apostles' Creed,' have been beautifully reprinted by Pickering, and form appropriate gift-books.

To those in 'populous cities pent,' Mr. Ward's little volume on 'Closed Cases for Plants,' (Van Voorst,) details a discovery, of the simplest and most efficient kind, which none can thoroughly appreciate but those who know the charm of real green life in a smoky town. These 'Closed Cases' will have the advantage of creating a new element of beauty—room-scenery.

We select Mr. Armstrong's Sermon, preached at Kemerton, 'The Opposition of the World,' (J. H. Parker,) as far beyond the average, both in thought and expression.

We much regret that any, and we fear there was great, occasion should have been given for the severe but just 'Letter to the Bishop of Chichester on Pictorial Crucifixes.' (Masters.)

'Scenes in the Lives of Christian Children,' (Masters,) is a suitable packet for a Christmas and Christian memorial.

Mr. Wm. Palmer's (of Magdalene) 'Dissertations on the Orthodox or Eastern Catholic Communion,' (Masters,) has reached us in time only to announce. A single glance at its contents shows, however, the importance of the volume.

Lord Cranborne has written, and Mr. Masters has published, a 'History of France for Children.' Creditable both as a composition and suitable for those to whom it is addressed, this little work is remarkable, considering the affliction—blindness—under which the author labours.

'Family Adventures,' by the author of the 'Fairy Bower,' (Mozley,) comes to us under touching circumstances, as the posthumous work of its remarkable and gifted authoress. The tales are shorter, and addressed to a younger class, than the writer's previous and more formal works. But in these slight sketches we recognise the same firm yet delicate touch, and the same nice appreciation of character, which won popularity to the 'Fairy Bower.' A second edition will correct more than one fault which the writer's critical eye was withdrawn from observing: Isidore, for example, is not a girl's name.

Mr. Newland's 'Letter to Mr. Hatchard, on Confession and Absolution,' (Masters,) fully sustains this vigorous and useful writer's reputation.

It is not often that we have to *recommend* publications by 'recent converts': but there are reasons which induce us to depart from our rule in suggesting to certain querulous persons among ourselves Mr. J. Spencer Northcote's 'Pilgrimage to La Salette,' (Burns & Lambert.) It will amply repay perusal.

Among Sermons, we have to acknowledge, 1. Mr. Puckle's second volume of 'Parochial Sermons,' (Rivingtons.) 2. Mr. Hardwick's volume, addressed to 'Town Congregations,' (Macmillan.) 3. Mr. Woodward's 'Sermons, preached at Rome,' (Rivingtons.) 4. Mr. Trevor's 'Unity in Uniformity,' (Bell.) 5. Mr. Christie's Synod Sermon, 'The Rule of the Church a Law to her Members,' (Lendrum,) which is full and able. 6. 'Samuel's last Appeal,' a Farewell Sermon by Mr. J. H. Crowder, (Hale & Nowell,) which has more than local interest. 7. 'The Purity of the Church of England, and the Corruptions of the Church of Rome,' (Rivingtons,) by Mr. Chancellor Harington—a characteristic 5th November Sermon. 8. 'Christ and the Church,'—which requires a sharp eye to detect the latent Irvingism. 9. 'Remember the Sabbath-day,' (Rivingtons,) by Mr. Kempe of Kensington: Mr. Kempe seems to identify Sunday and the Jewish Sabbath. 10. 'Do all to the Glory of God,' by Mr. Tate of Dover, (Rivingtons.) 11. 'The Evidences of Religion,' in two Sermons, by Mr. Bruce Kennard, (Rivingtons,)—ambitious but not successful: the writer fortifies himself by Dr. Arnold, Bishop Hampden, and Mr. Morrell's sceptical History of Philosophy; 12. Mr. Harvey Goodwin's 'Sermon at the Cambridge Commemoration of Benefactors,' (Deighton.) 13. Mr. Armstrong's elegant 'Funeral Sermon for Lord Somers,' (J. H. Parker.) 14. 'An Evangelical Ministry the Strength of the Nation,' (Seeleys,) by Mr. Webster, who takes occasion to talk about every thing, himself, and his pecuniary means not excluded, in Dedication, Notes, &c.; 15. An Ordination Sermon, 'The Faithful Pastor,' by Mr. R. Gordon, (J. H. Parker.) 16. 'Concionalia,' by Mr. H. Thompson, (Masters,) a little work containing outlines of Sermons,—a 'Pulpit Help' of which we cannot approve. 17. Four 'Advent Sermons,' by Mr. Tomlins, (Mackay.) 18. 'Sermons for the Christian Seasons,' (J. H. Parker,) a proposed series, cheap and sound. 19. 'The Sisters of Bethany,' (Masters.)